THE SHAKESPEARE ASSOCIATION BULLETIN

SAMUEL A. TANNENBAUM, *Editor*

Contributing Editors

MRS. ROBERT CARLTON MORRIS ROBERT M. SMITH WILLIAM T. HASTINGS

Advisory Board

JOSEPH Q. ADAMS MYRA B. MARTIN

HARDIN CRAIG WILLIAM ALLAN NEILSON

VOL. IX. OCTOBER, 1934 No. 4

CONTENTS

		PAGE
The Mechanics of Disguise in Shakespeare's Plays	*P. V. Kreider*	167
Gentle Ghost	*Edna Davis Romig*	180
"King Lear" and "Isaiah"	*Hope Traver*	181
"Troilus and Cressida"—epilogue	*Lewis F. Mott*	185
Crabbed Age and Youth in "Romeo and Juliet"	*H. Edward Cain*	186
An Experience with Shakspere's "Shrew"	*Frank Lea Short*	191
Notes on the Corpus Christi Plays and "The Green Pastures"	*Robert Withington*	193
The Folio Text of "Troilus and Cressida"	*S. A. Tannenbaum*	198
Editorial Notes		215
A note on *"The Gypsies Metamorphosed"*	*S. A. Tannenbaum*	217
Communication		220

Published quarterly, in January, April, July, and October, by The Shakespeare Association of America, Inc., 808 West End Avenue, New York.

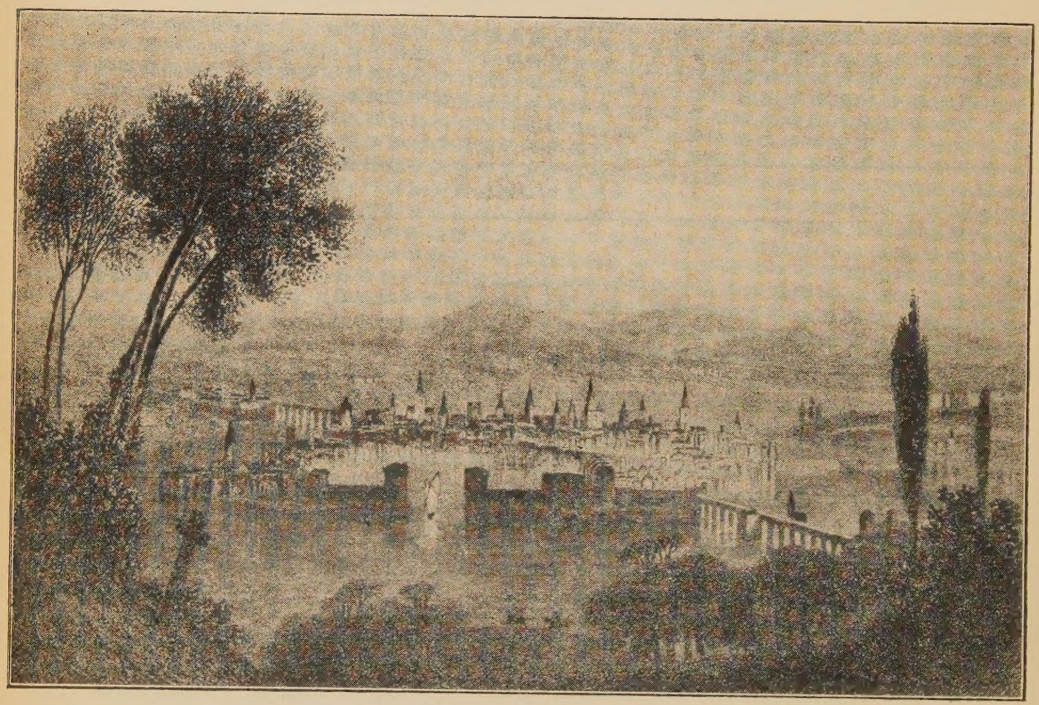
Subscription rate, $2.00 per year, postpaid. Single copies, fifty cents.

Membership in the Association includes annual subscription.

All correspondence relating to the conduct of the BULLETIN should be addressed to Dr. Samuel A. Tannenbaum, 808 West End Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Other matters relating to the work of the Association should be referred to the Secretary.

Copyright, 1934, by The Shakespeare Association of America, Inc.



Drawn by G. F. Sargent

MANTUA—*Romeo & Juliet,* V, i.

The Mechanics of Disguise in Shakespeare's Plays

By P. V. KREIDER

NO plot device is more constantly recurrent in Shakespearian drama than is disguise. With an enthusiasm which varies hardly at all as he progresses from his earliest to his latest works, and with approximately equal interest in the adventures of women and of men, Shakespeare injects masquerade into twenty-five of his comedies, tragedies, and chronicle plays. Mummers appear sometimes singly, as does Julia, often in pairs, as do Rosalind and Celia, rarely as unrelated personages like Kent and Edgar. The dramatic situation from which disguise develops, as well as that to which it leads, may be farcical, as when Falstaff becomes the fat woman of Brainford; romantic, as when the dramatist transforms Viola into the page Cesario; grave, as with Portia the advocate; and even tragic, as is the case when Edgar turns Bedlamite. In general, the tone of the ensuing action is harmonious with the condition provoking the masquerade, though it also is true that the romantic motif, which begins almost tragically and expands with peculiarly poignant emotion, terminates serenely. As to the manner in which characters enter the concealed state, it may be said that while some, like Imogen (or, more literally, Autolycus), have strange garments thrust upon them, yet others, like Duke Vincentio, deliberately achieve a new personality or, like Belarius and the sons of Cymbeline, are, dramatically speaking, born disguised.

But whatever the circumstances of the mumming, the technique employed may be reduced to formula. Though exceptions and modifications occur upon every hand (for Shakespeare refuses to submit to simple classification), yet in general the devices follow a pattern. First of all, in most cases Shakespeare leads his audience to expect a masquerade, and often to anticipate it in detail; then, after the concealed person has appeared, but—generally—before he has done much more, the dramatist makes him reveal himself in one way or another to the spectators; and finally, when the climax is reached, the mummer is given an opportunity to disclose his identity to the other personages in the play. Some disguisings are very brief, whereas others continue practically throughout the entire action; consequently, the various stages of the process are sometimes huddled together and sometimes presented in more leisurely fashion.

Preparation for the Disguise

Shakespeare's purpose in bringing a disguised figure onto the stage is never to mystify or deceive and later surprise his audience; his intent is always

to conceal the identity of one or more characters from other persons in the play. A contingency more or less serious demands that certain personages operate incognito, but the dramatist takes care that the spectators derive that passive, complacent delight which comes from acquaintance with all the details of the situation and which accepts no responsibility other than that of enjoying the narrative as it evolves. The sixteenth-century craftsman makes his plot so pellucid that his not too intelligent auditors are spared every possibility of confusion and every temptation to guess; he tells them, in plain terms, exactly what he is about to do.

Yet—for already one is conscious of exceptions—a few of Shakespeare's characters, especially those whose maskings are brief, disguise without any antecedent hint of their intention. Such persons may effect a change of costume upon the stage, thus avoiding all danger of misleading the audience; but most of them come upon the boards in a masquerade for which there has been no specific preparation. Among these latter are to be found not only figures already seen in their own personalities, but likewise men and women who have not appeared previously and who are disguised when first the spectators set eyes upon them. In all instances of unheralded masquerade, as will be indicated below, the playwright conscientiously employs a disguise so flimsy that it is instantly penetrated by the spectator, or makes it so short that recognition is practically immediate, or utilizes it in a farcical and inconsequential episode with so little plot importance that identity is of no moment, or—and this method is much more representative of Shakespeare's general technique—affords the mummer an early opportunity to identify himself to the audience.

Despite the evidence of these occasional unannounced masquerades, Shakespeare's usual practice is not to omit all preparation for the disguise, but rather either to create conditions in which mumming is implied without any consideration of detail, or else to give sedulous attention to a clear, definite preliminary discussion of the assumed part which someone must play.

(a) Disguise is inherent in Romeo's decision to attend the ball given by Capulet.[1] Although there is no mention of intended masking or other subterfuge, yet Shakespeare's representation of the feud between the two Italian houses makes it obvious that Romeo can carry out his plan only by resorting to some ruse. The dramatist uses a device one degree more complicated when

[1] *Romeo and Juliet*, I, i, 87-106. The references are to the Students Cambridge Edition of Shakespeare's works. For comment on *The Winter's Tale*, IV, iii, 26-131 as probable implied preparation for disguise, see Note 53, *infra*. *King Lear*, V. i, 38-50 is an indisputable case.

he makes Polixenes declare that he and Camillo must masquerade when they spy upon Florizel and yet neglects to impart the least suggestion concerning the costume they will assume.[2] An identical condition obtains when Gratiano and the other young gentlemen who are to assist Lorenzo in stealing his bride from the home of Shylock agree that disguise is imperative, but give no hint as to how they will attire themselves.[3]

(b) Much more frequently Shakespeare supplies detailed preliminary information concerning the nature of the contemplated disguise. This careful preparatory exposition, which constitutes the most lucid introduction to masquerade, is quite persistent, appearing in plays as early as *The Taming of the Shrew* and in those as late as *Cymbeline,* and in plays of as varied nature as *The Merry Wives of Windsor, Love's Labour's Lost,* the two parts of *Henry the Fourth, Twelfth Night,* and *King Lear.*

When Frederick banishes Rosalind, and Celia decides to accompany her into exile, the two girls, after considering their prospects, openly state the details by which they may be recognized when they reappear: Rosalind will enact the rôle of a youth called Ganymede, while Celia, her skin darkened with a stain and her name altered to Aliena, will personate a woman of mean rank; moreover, Touchstone will be with them, and they will go to the Forest of Arden.[4] Such minute specifications make it impossible for any person of moderate intelligence to experience even temporary uncertainty when the pair of refugees, attired and named as predicted and accompanied by Touchstone (who does not share in the disguise), is discovered on the borders of the Forest of Arden. Portia tells not only how she and Nerissa will clothe themselves, but where they will next be seen, what they will be doing, and what noticeable mannerisms they will have adopted.[5] Edgar, frightened from his home and pursued by the hue and cry, delineates every item of his garb, his matted hair and grimy face, and his antics; he even grimaces and howls in anticipation of the raving he will assume with his disguise.[6] And a host more of Shakespeare's heroes and heroines, as well as lesser figures, take the audience

---

2 *The Winter's Tale,* IV, ii, 53-62.

3 *The Merchant of Venice,* II, iv, 1-23; see also II, v, 22-28. Still another instance of the same kind occurs in *Much Ado About Nothing,* I, i, 322-327.

4 *As You Like It,* I, iii, 108-140.

5 *The Merchant of Venice,* III, iv, 26-84.

6 *King Lear,* II, iii, 1-21. It is probable that Shakespeare intended Edgar to become Tom of Bedlam during the course of this scene. Certainly his lines might well accompany and explain a shift of garments; his "Poor Turlygod! poor Tom! That's something yet" might be spoken in character rather than in rehearsal; and his final statement, "Edgar I nothing am," might easily signify the satisfactory completion of the transformation.

into their confidence in exactly the same way.[7]

Identification of the Disguised Character for the Audience

In keeping with his policy of concealing none of the details of the dramatic action, Shakespeare discloses the identity of every disguised character as soon as possible. Again exceptions occur; but while it is true that a number of miscellaneous persons who assist during the castigation of Falstaff in Windsor Park are presented both without previous discussion of their masquerade and without any kind of self-revelation,[8] and while the same statement can be made with regard to many of those who attend the masked ball at Leonato's home,[9] yet it is equally true that many characters in both of these scenes are wholly unimportant as far as the action there represented is concerned, and that Shakespeare singles out and clearly reveals those persons in both scenes whose identity is of any consequence or interest.

In all other instances the dramatist guides the spectators by making use of four devices: he shows the mummer changing his costume upon the stage; he relies upon the correspondence between the disguise as foretold and the disguise as seen, plus what is already known concerning the circumstances and plans of the masquerader, to prevent confusion of identity; he makes the concealed personage speak so as to disclose his secret; and he resorts to the direct naming of maskers.

(a) Occasionally, as with the Princess of France and her ladies, the adoption of a disguise in the presence of the audience is no more elaborate than donning a mask.[10] But nearly always it involves also a change of garments. When Lucentio's passion for Bianca impels him to enter her father's house as a servant, he and his attendant Tranio keep the intrigue unequivocal by trading clothes upon the boards.[11] And when Feste abuses the imprisoned Malvolio, he first of all, in full view of the audience, puts on a false beard and the gown

---

[7] For additional examples, see *The Taming of the Shrew,* I, i, 151-210, I, ii, 117-137, III, ii, 130-139, and IV, ii, 59-120; *The Two Gentlemen of Verona,* II, vii, 1-58; *Love's Labour's Lost,* V, ii, 79-125 and 126-156; *The Merchant of Venice,* II, iv, 5, 24, 30-40, and II, v, 22-57; *1 Henry the Fourth,* I, ii, 179-216; *2 Henry the Fourth,* II, ii, 186-196, and II, iv, 16-22; *Much Ado About Nothing,* V, i, 296-305, and V, iv, 1-16; *Twelfth Night,* I, ii, 47-64; *The Merry Wives of Windsor,* II, i, 211-248, IV, ii, 67-103, IV, iv, 1-70 and 71-75, IV, v, 106-131, IV, vi, 1-55, V, i, 1-32, V, ii, 1-11, and V, iii, 1-5; *All's Well That Ends Well,* III, iv, 1-17; *Measure for Measure,* I, iii, 39-48; *King Lear,* IV, i, 43-52; *Cymbeline,* III, iv, 146-187, III, v, 118-150, III, vi, 118-162, and V, i, 21-33.

[8] *The Merry Wives of Windsor,* V, v, 41-106.

[9] *Much Ado About Nothing,* II, i, 85-160.

[10] *Love's Labour's Lost,* V, ii, 157. The same method is used in *Much Ado About Nothing,* II, i, 87 f.

[11] *The Taming of the Shrew,* I, i, 211-235. Autolycus and Florizel exchange garments in *The Winter's Tale,* IV, iv, 635-697.

of a cleric.[12] Henry the Fifth, by the simple expedient of removing the cloak from Erpingham's shoulders and placing it upon his own while the play-goers watch, must be supposed to lose all resemblance to himself;[13] and Posthumus is reduced from the state of a conquering Briton to that of a defeated Roman merely by shedding his superimposed peasant's rags.[14]

(b) Freely as Shakespeare utilizes this obvious device, however, he more often trusts the spectators to recognize the one figure who fulfils the conditions stated in the exposition which preceded the adoption of the masquerade; for the detailed prophecy is a warning to be watchful for a person who dresses and acts in a specified manner. Posthumus, mumming as a Briton peasant, enters not alone but as a straggler attached to the English army; and, although he does not speak at all, yet his humble garb is exactly as he has forecast, while his vigorous attack upon the Romans in general and Iachimo in particular not only suggests his promise that, suited as a peasant, he will fight against those with whom he journeyed from Italy, but also exhibits the martial qualities which various speakers have from time to time attributed to this son of Leonatus.[15]

Generally, however, it is not alone through costume and action, but also through dialog, that the minutiae of the disguised character's predicament are so reviewed and so emphasized in the initial masquerade scene that nothing is left to the imagination. Duke Vincentio has announced that, dressed as a friar, he will visit his people and closely observe the conduct of his deputy, Angelo; thus, when a ceaselessly busy friar appears, mingling with prisoners and petitioners, hanging constantly upon the outskirts of Angelo's activities, and concerning himself principally with the legal and social as contrasted with the spiritual aspects of affairs, he can be no one but Vincentio.[16] Again, when Romeo and his friends enter the ballroom at Capulet's home, they probably are concealed only by masks; in fact, Mercutio, who, however, has not been seen before, dons a mask upon the stage.[17] The intruders discuss the fact that they are unwelcome guests, Romeo displays the love melancholy and the fondness for playing with words which characterize him in the opening scene of the tragedy, and Mercutio addresses Romeo by name.[18] Similarly, after Prince

[12] *Twelfth Night,* IV, ii, 1-12.
[13] *Henry the Fifth,* IV, i, 24.
[14] *Cymbeline,* V, iii, 66-83. Illustrations of this practice, other than those already mentioned, occur in *A Midsummer-Night's Dream,* III, i, 79-131, and (probably) in *King Lear,* II, iii, 1-21. On this last passage, see Note 6, *supra.*
[15] *Cymbeline,* V, ii, 1-18.
[16] *Measure for Measure,* II, iii, 1-39.
[17] *Romeo and Juliet,* I, iv, 29-32.
[18] *Ibid.,* lines 1-114.

Henry and Poins have planned to rob Falstaff of his plunder, they proceed exactly as they have arranged. Their conversation, repeating the details of the scheme, identifies them in terms of the hoax, and Poins at one time addresses the Prince as "Hal".[19] Shakespeare's concern to make the accomplished disguise exactly according to the preparatory exposition, in the case of Rosalind and Celia, has already been described.[20]

A unique modification of this method is used in *Love's Labour's Lost.* Boyet, who is not of the King's party, overhears Ferdinand and his lords planning a mumming, and reports his discovery to the Princess. Thus the preliminary discussion is given not by a participant in the plot, but by one who is expected to be deceived by it. Scarcely has Boyet completed his recital when the masquers enter, with the result that they are recognized immediately by the audience and also, of course, by the Princess and her ladies.[21]

In a few plays Shakespeare supplements this kind of identification by giving the masker an undisguised comrade whose features are already known. Sometimes this companion is a fellow conspirator who, unlike the majority of such persons, does not himself actively participate in the dissimulation. The fact that Touchstone attends Rosalind and Celia has already been noted; and his humor at the time of his single appearance is so uninspired as to make one suspect that Shakespeare introduced him into the first act mainly because in various ways he would serve as a link between the court life and the pastoral life of the exiled girls. After Petruchio and his friend Hortensio have been seen plotting together, the undisguised Petruchio presents Hortensio, posing as a music master, to Baptista.[22] And Tranio, who has arranged to present the Pedant as old Vincentio, escorts him into the presence of Baptista.[23]

(c) Often Shakespeare's hidden characters effect the necessary self-revelation by drawing attention to the fact that they are mumming, and the resultant identification is absolute and swift. Sometimes the maskings so resolved are, although important, yet unannounced, momentary, and transparent. When

---

[19] *1 Henry the Fourth,* II, ii, 1-115.

[20] See *As You Like It,* II, iv, 1-18. Other passages in which the predicament of disguised characters so exactly fulfils their own forecast that the masquerade is transparent to the spectators occur in *The Taming of the Shrew,* I, ii, 138-282, II, i, 54-61 and 76-106; *The Merchant of Venice,* II, vi, 1-59; *Twelfth Night,* I, iv, 1-4; *The Merry Wives of Windsor,* V, v, 1-106; *All's Well That Ends Well,* III, v, 32-104.

[21] *Love's Labour's Lost,* V, ii, 79-265.

[22] *The Taming of the Shrew,* II, i, 39-63. The undisguised Gremio, who enters when Petruchio does, and who brings with him Lucentio attired as a schoolmaster, has of course no idea that he is introducing his rival into Baptista's household; see lines 76-86.

[23] *Ibid.,* IV, iv, 1-22. Additional instances of undisguised companions are to be found in *A Midsummer-Night's Dream,* III, i, 106-114, and *The Merry Wives of Windsor,* IV, ii, 191-196.

La Pucelle appears in an unheralded masquerade as a peasant, she speaks as one disguised, and yet in harmony with her character as it has already been established. After a brief conversation she departs, whereupon the Bastard of Orleans comes upon the stage and reports that Joan of Arc has just entered the city.[24] Similarly Tamora has made no preparation for a disguise, though she has declared that she will find a way to outwit Titus Andronicus. When she attempts to impersonate Vengeance, she insists that she is not what she appears to be, and later in the scene she and her sons are adequately identified in a pair of asides.[25] Coriolanus, also in unforeseen mumming, draws attention to his masquerade, and almost immediately names himself.[26]

When, however, the disguise is more protracted and has been definitely prepared for, the identification is more dependent upon the character's reference to facts already known by the auditors and less dependent upon open statements of identity made by the masked figure or someone else; and, of course, the final exposure is postponed. Thus used, utterances concerning oneself as disguised are indispensable in the process of keeping identity clear in some of Shakespeare's most interesting masquerades.[27] After Julia has donned page's attire to seek Proteus and has come upon that inconstant young man paying court to Silvia, she speaks a number of lines which, because they reveal the nature of her emotional turmoil, identify her. She refuses to admit to the Host that she likes Proteus or his music, and then, while overhearing the actual wooing, she delivers a series of asides which clearly show the depth and intensity of her interest in Proteus and his activity.[28] Although the details of the appearance of Portia and Nerissa at the court of justice are in complete accord with the preparation for their disguise, yet the dramatist adds a brief episode in which the identity of the two women is established beyond any possible doubt. It seems almost as if Portia and Nerissa were given the scene in which they anticipate the merriment that will ensue when their husbands return without their wedding rings,[29] in compensation for the fact that they are engulfed in the swift action of the trial without the usual opportunity to

[24] *1 Henry* VI, III, ii, 1-35.

[25] *Titus Andronicus,* V, ii, 1-8; line 1 refers to Tamora's unusual garb. She prepares for this action in IV, iv, 88-113, but makes no reference, either direct or tacit, to masking.

[26] *Coriolanus,* IV, iv, 1-26, and IV, v, 55-74. With this and the two preceding illustrations, compare the masking of Don John and Benedick in *Much Ado About Nothing,* II, i, 161-178 and 208-216.

[27] Various personages, especially those whose experiences, like those of Edgar, Rosalind, Julia, Viola, and Imogen, are extremely poignant as well as prolonged, occasionally remind the spectators of their mumming, even long after their identity has been established.

[28] *The Two Gentlemen of Verona,* IV, ii, 26-141.

[29] *The Merchant of Venice,* IV, ii, 1-19.

speak so as to identify themselves. When Viola is first shown as Cesario, some of the gentlemen of Orsino's court are speaking of her recent arrival there, an announcement which in itself is suggestive; then the Duke, enumerating the attractions of his new page, emphasizes physical traits which are feminine; and at the end of the scene Viola, in a short aside, confesses that she would fain be Orsino's wife, and the revelation is complete.[30] Imogen, compelled by circumstances to adopt a similar disguise, has the conventional soliloquy on her misfortunes, her garb, and her plans. She mentions Pisanio, her former attendant and her adviser; she speaks of herself as trudging to Milford, whither the audience has heard Pisanio counsel her to go; and she refers to her "dear lord" and her fear of her own weapon.[31] The preparation for Edgar's change from the virtual nakedness of Tom of Bedlam to the little better condition of a peasant is slight but sufficient,[32] while the fact that he still leads blind Gloucester assists in keeping him known. Yet Shakespeare develops, for Edgar, a pathetic self-revelation: in the person of the peasant Edgar addresses Gloucester as "Father," a term which the latter accepts as used conventionally, not as indicative of actual relationship.[33]

(d) Shakespeare infrequently permits masked characters to name themselves. Usually when he resorts to this primitively direct method, he is depicting a very transient disguise for which little or no preparation has been made. Suffolk attempts to escape detection by clothing himself in tatters, but when made a prisoner of war he names himself in order to secure the respectful treatment to which he believes himself entitled.[34] King Henry the Sixth, reposing confidence in a similar but equally futile sham, calls himself "Harry" in soliloquy and is further identified by two Keepers, who recognize the fugitive monarch.[35] When Coriolanus appears in disguise among his former enemies, the Volscians, he reveals himself in the approved fashion in his soliloquies, and then states his own name to the audience, and later directly to Aufidius.[36]

These three masquerades are all brief, lasting only a few minutes;

---

30 *Twelfth Night*, I, iv, 42 ff.
31 *Cymbeline*, III, vi, 1-27; *cf.* also lines 76-89.
32 *King Lear*, IV, i, 39-52.
33 *Ibid.*, IV, vi, 223, 260, 293, and V, ii, 1. Other cases in which the maskers so speak as to identify themselves to the audience are found in *Titus Andronicus*, V, ii, 137-148; *The Merchant of Venice*, II, vi, 8-19; *2 Henry the Fourth*, II, iv, 253-308; *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, II, ii, 150-329; *King Lear*, V, iii, 118-150; *Cymbeline*, IV, i, 1-27, and V, i, 1-21; *The Winter's Tale* IV, iv, 55-427.
34 *2 Henry the Sixth*, IV, i, 1-48.
35 *3 Henry the Sixth*, III, i, 12-54.
36 *Coriolanus*, IV, v, 10 ff., 55-74.

but in the long-continued disguise of Kent as Caius, the serving man, Shakespeare employs the same direct self-identification. Kent, when banished, gives no indication that he will continue to follow Lear; but before long he reappears, draws attention to his changed aspect, and speaks of himself as "banish'd Kent."[37]

There are only two Shakespearian characters who, after announcing their intention to mask or to disguise, name themselves while masquerading; and these two are Claudio[38] and Cloten,[39] though the latter is otherwise so thoroughly identified that there is little if any need for repetition.

Instances of the recognition of disguised characters by others are rare and of special nature. A mere mask, as distinguished from a general disguise, often affords inadequate concealment. Tybalt instantly knows his enemy, in spite of the fact that Romeo and his friends are masked, and Juliet's nurse either penetrates the disguise herself or otherwise learns who Romeo is.[40] Borachio detects Claudio, and Benedick names Don Pedro, without the slightest hesitation;[41] and the mask of King Henry the Eighth is no protection against the eager eyes of Cardinal Wolsey.[42]

The farcical mumming, too, is sometimes transparent. Prince Henry and Poins, dressed as Drawers, do not for a moment deceive Falstaff;[43] and, strangely, although King Henry the Fifth may hide his regal personage completely merely by wrapping Erpingham's mantle about his shoulders, yet Bottom, completely buried beneath the head of an ass, is still the bully weaver to his fellows.[44]

In general, participants in masquerades of the types referred to above as romantic, grave, and tragic are not discovered as are these masked and farcical figures. Yet, although it seems to be a tradition that a *bona fide* disguise shall not be penetrated before the purpose for which it was assumed has been accomplished, still—"except before excepted," as Sir Toby would say—there are a few instances of serious disguise in which the mummers intend to secure definite results but are recognized so early that their plans go awry. Reference

37 *King Lear,* I, iv, 1-7.
38 *Much Ado About Nothing,* II, i, 179 f., 190 f.
39 *Cymbeline,* IV, ii, 86-93.
40 *Romeo and Juliet,* I, v, 56-66, 134-139.
41 *Much Ado About Nothing,* II, i, 165 ff., 220-227. Yet in a later scene (V, iv, 72 f.) Benedick cannot discover the masked Beatrice.
42 *Henry the Eighth,* I, iv, 64-89.
43 *2 Henry the Fourth,* II, iv, 305-314.
44 *A Midsummer-Night's Dream,* III, i, 117-122.

has already been made to the detection of King Henry the Sixth and to Titus Andronicus's ability to see through Tamora's pretense. Two further examples remain. When Cloten, dressed in the garments of Posthumus, sets out upon his dastardly undertaking against Imogen, Belarius, who has not seen him for years, recognizes him and names him to the sons of Cymbeline.[45] And Lysimachus, a nobleman who appears only once, is named and described as masquerading before ever he comes upon the stage.[46]

Lysimachus, although his part is inconsequential and indefinite and his disguise means nothing, is representative of a small group of characters who, when first introduced, are in masquerade. In all such cases the dramatist hastens to identify the new personages to the audience, even though the information may for a time be denied the other persons in the play. Belarius and the two sons of Cymbeline are dressed as men of low degree when they first appear; but the banished lord loses no time in telling the spectators his name and enough of his past experience to explain his presence in the wilderness, and in the same passage he states that these two young woodsmen are in reality the lost British princes, living in ignorance of their birth.[47] King Henry the Eighth makes his initial entry with a group of other maskers; but, as has already been indicated, Cardinal Wolsey announces that the King is reported to be one of the party, and when the Cardinal discovers him, Henry admits his identity.

Identification of the Disguised Character for the Other Personages of the Drama

When the condition which necessitated the disguise is removed, Shakespeare explains the masquerade to those who have been deceived by it. In the numerous brief mummings which have been described, the self-revelation usually occurs in the same scene as does the deception; that is, such characters as Romeo, Tamora, Cloten, Lysimachus, and Coriolanus are speedily made known not only to the spectators but also to the other persons of the drama. But in longer disguises, such as those of Viola, Imogen, and Ford, the playwright constructs special incidents through which, when the masquerade is no longer needed, the mummer re-assumes his own identity and thus reveals himself and his story publicly. There are episodes which, because they represent someone as unconsciously exposing the ruse, approach and forecast the

[45] *Cymbeline*, IV, ii, 61-67.
[46] *Pericles*, IV, vi, 17 f.
[47] *Cymbeline*, III, iii, 79-107.

final resolution; there are scenes, often elaborately developed, in which a complete explanation is effected; and there are passages, usually brief, which support the dénouement by summarizing the disguise plot.

(a) Shakespeare now and then delights his audience by showing a person unwittingly recognizing a masquerader. Victims of the subterfuge, unaware that they are upon the threshold of a discovery, turn and go about their business without exposing the mummers. Sometimes the effect of such action is merely amusing, as when Evans, looking upon Falstaff in the guise of the fat woman of Brainford, concludes that the old hag must certainly be a witch: "I like not when a 'oman has a great peard. I spy a great peard under his muffler."[48] Again, this approach to discovery may heighten the romantic excitement inherent in the masquerade, as when Duke Orsino, enumerating the qualifications of Cesario, lists only strictly feminine traits.[49] Sometimes the prospect of recognition increases the emotionalism of an already difficult plight, as when both Duke Senior and Orlando sense in Ganymede some resemblance to Rosalind,[50] and Imogen, Guiderius, and Arviragus respond to an inexplicable love for each other,[51] or, more sadly, when Gloucester, now blind, confesses that while in the hovel which sheltered the outcast King he detected, in Mad Tom, some likeness to his own wronged son.[52]

(b) The time comes, however, when an unmistakable disclosure must be made. Often all that is necessary is that the mummer remove his disguise, or enough of it to destroy its effectiveness. Practically all those who indulge in brief masquerade use this method—for example, Coriolanus and Henry the Eighth. By doffing a false beard Autolycus ceases to be a peddler and becomes a gentleman of the court, appropriate garments having been forced upon him previously by the Prince.[53] And the Prince's father, Polixenes, in a fit of anger tears off whatever disguise he has assumed, and discloses himself to Florizel.[54] All of these men practice only momentary deception; Duke

---

48 *The Merry Wives of Windsor,* IV, ii, 202-205.
49 *Twelfth Night,* I, iv, 30-34.
50 *As You Like It,* V, iv, 26-34.
51 *Cymbeline,* III, vi, 69-74, 76-79.
52 *King Lear,* IV, i, 34-37.
53 *The Winter's Tale,* IV, iv, 732 f. How long Autolycus has been wearing the beard is not clear from the text. In his first appearance he cozens the Clown, and yet in the second he faces his victim without being recognized. Perhaps his prophecy, made in brief soliloquy at the end of his first escapade, that he will see the Clown again at the fair, should be considered implied preparation for disguise. See IV, iii, 126-131. Autolycus, however, does not make a final self-revelation to those whom he has tricked; he and Feste, who in the person of Sir Topas browbeats Malvolio, are the only Shakespearian mummers who do not trouble themselves to reveal their identity to others.
54 *Ibid.,* IV, iv, 427 ff. *Cf. King Lear,* V, iii, 162-169, where Edgar reveals himself to Edmund.

Vincentio is the only personage who, after a protracted disguise, adopts this naïve method of recovering his former position in society.[55] The termination of this masquerade exhibits two peculiarities: Duke Vincentio, who has previously discarded his friar's robe,[56] has recently resumed it in order to complete the investigation which first necessitated it; and the self-revelation is not voluntary, but results directly from Lucio's hot-headed action. When Shakespeare removes the mask from the face of Hero, supposedly dead, after she has been married to Claudio,[57] and when he has Hermione, likewise supposedly dead, descend from her pedestal after the repentance of Leontes has been sufficiently demonstrated,[58] he introduces an interesting variation into this device of identifying characters by removing the disguise.[59]

Occasionally Shakespeare constructs a more pretentious incident for the self-identification, with the masquerader coming forward to reveal himself when the complication has progressed as far as it can. When Proteus becomes so impatient in his love for Silvia that he threatens to treat her violently because of her coldness, Julia alters the course of his passion by emerging from her concealed state and showing him that while he was pursuing an unresponsive lady, she herself was following him because of the pledge existing between them.[60] When time and circumstances decree that Shakespeare shall go no further with the story of Viola, the dramatist invokes the technique of the ancient anagnorisis to effect a reunion of Viola and Sebastian and to establish the future position of these two young people in Illyria.[61] Ford resorts to raillery and the constant repetition of the name he used while in disguise (Master Brook), to impress the fact of the deception upon the stupefied Falstaff.[62]

One Shakespearian character, after a prolonged and unpleasant masquerade, is unable to reveal himself satisfactorily. Kent's effort to make the dying Lear comprehend his past loyalty and love is futile. Ironically, he has kept the secret of his submerged personality so faithfully that when he attempts to enter once more into the heart of the old sovereign, it is too late: he has

---

55 *Measure for Measure,* V, i, 356-361.
56 *Ibid.,* IV, v, 1-13.
57 *Much Ado About Nothing,* V, iv, 53-66.
58 *The Winter's Tale,* V, iii, 98-118.
59 Simple removal of the disguise is illustrated also in *A Midsummer-Night's Dream,* IV, i, 1-85, and *Coriolanus,* IV, v, 55-74.
60 *The Two Gentlemen of Verona,* V, iv, 84-120.
61 *Twelfth Night,* V, i, 216-265.
62 *The Merry Wives of Windsor,* V, v, 113-179. Additional uses of this device of elaborate late self-identification occur in *As You Like It,* V, iv, 122-130, and *The Merry Wives of Windsor,* V, v, 187-237.

served not wisely, but too well.[63] The master dramatist, simply by frustrating a stereotyped development of the plot and by presenting the innovation through language excruciatingly beautiful and tragic, substantially increases the pathos of his sublime closing scene. It can hardly be without forethought that Shakespeare entrusts to this disappointed gentleman all the genuinely and understandingly sympathetic lines spoken after Lear's death; most of all, these:

> Vex not his ghost; O, let him pass! He hates him
> That would upon the rack of this tough world
> Stretch him out longer.

(c) After the characters have abandoned their disguises and have returned to normal relationships, the Elizabethan love of narrative synopsis sometimes asserts itself. As other essential parts of the action occasionally are reviewed upon the stage, so the masquerade motif once in a while is summarized. Ford's taunting of Falstaff[64] and Rosalind's banter when she again is Rosalind[65] contain enough reference to earlier bits of dialog to constitute a résumé, since these characters choose significant passages to flash upon one's memory; and Cymbeline, when he has matters right once more, asks a long series of questions, but regrets that there is no present opportunity to have them answered.[66] Could he spare the time, the replies would constitute a summary of the experiences of Imogen and those most intimately associated with her during the days of her mumming. As it is, the queries throw the mind of the audience back over Imogen's adventure.

Not always content with mere suggestions of synopses, Shakespeare sometimes pens actual résumés. After Portia has baffled Shylock and has instructed Bassanio and Gratiano in the conduct becoming to husbands, she explains the masquerade in which she and Nerissa have participated.[67] King Henry the Fifth, satisfied that he had sport enough at the expense of the sturdy Williams, reviews the events which occurred while he was wrapped in Erpingham's cloak.[68] Busy as Viola has been since attaching herself to Count Orsino's court, she pauses at the last moment to sketch her activities as castaway, page, messenger, and lover.[69] Duke Vincentio outlines, for the enlightenment of friend and foe, his more sombre and less varied career as priestly investigator,

63 *King Lear,* V, iii, 268-294.
64 *The Merry Wives of Windsor,* V, v, 113-125.
65 *As You Like It,* V, iv, 128-130.
66 *Cymbeline,* V, v, 381-392.
67 *The Merchant of Venice,* V, i, 266-273.
68 *Henry the Fifth,* IV, viii, 41-60.
69 *Twelfth Night,* V, i, 260-282.

comforter, and adviser.[70] Edgar, with a considerable amount of descriptive and narrative detail, recounts the major incidents of his own disguise and Kent's, including in his recital many suggestions also of the tragedy of his father whose "flaw'd heart . . . bursts smilingly," and of Lear, that "enemy king," whom yet Kent "in disguise follow'd . . . and did him service improper for a slave."[71]

Cincinnati, Ohio, University of Cincinnati.

[70] *Measure for Measure,* V, i, 387-401.

[71] *King Lear,* V, iii, 181-221. See also *The Taming of the Shrew,* V, i, 115-133, and *1 Henry the Fourth,* II, iv, 278-313.

GENTLE GHOST

By EDNA DAVIS ROMIG

Not very like the Mermaid is this inn.
But of an evening, when the hills turn blue
Enough to dye the twilight, and the sun,
Striking a peak, touches the tavern group
With brief transfiguration, and the talk
Turns marrow-rich, has yeast and spice and salt,
A little mad and merry—I perceive
A man with mirthful mouth and quiet eyes
Slip into place, a man with pointed beard
And open brow, a handsome well-shaped man.
He never speaks. But when the sunset glow
Turns cheek bones gold and throats and foreheads mauve,
He watches eagerly and listens close
To every racy tale and flash of wit.
When the talk turns to people he gives heed
Intensely—clowns, and yokels, wenches, all
The hurly-burly of the tabloid sheet,
The characters in plays, in latest books,
The soldier, demagogue, the man of state;
To talk of industry, machines, of war,
Of ships, jugs, horses, and of everything.
He never speaks. It is as though life made
Of him a full-stored cellarage where wine
Of priceless vintage aged; he seems full-stored,
A myriad-minded man who knows all depths,
All heights. But somehow very lonely, sad—
For all his lips show wit, his eyes are sad.
In the dim dusk, as long as talk is good,
I see him sit, the others never knowing,
As though before his eyes some drama passed,
Some stage on which the curtain never dropped.

"King Lear" and "Isaiah"

By HOPE TRAVER

TO one seeking an explanation of the august sublimity with which Shakespeare invests *King Lear,* thus separating it as by a profound chasm from its sources in the older play or the Chronicle histories of Holinshed and Geoffrey of Monmouth, there comes illumination as he turns to the opening chapters of the prophet Isaiah.

In the opening verses of the first chapter of *Isaiah* may be felt, in summary, the emotional range of Shakespeare's play. The keynote of Lear's agony is struck at the very beginning in Jehovah's outcry:

> Hear, O heavens, and give ear, O earth: . . .
> I have nourished and brought up children,
> And they have rebelled against me. (*Isaiah* I:2)

Forsaken and despised, Lear turns vehemently from what he now recognizes as having been like the 'vain oblations' of *Isaiah* I:13 ff., the insulting hypocrisy of a ceremonial worship of lip service only, while the heart was devoted to utter audacity of sin in self-seeking. One remembers how he introduces his curse against Goneril with the appeal:

> Hear, nature, hear; dear goddess, hear! (*King Lear* I, iv, 297)

and again, when Regan proves equally heartless,

> You heavens, give me that patience, patience I need!
> You see me here, you gods, a poor old man,
> As full of grief as age; wretched in both:
> If it be you that stirs these daughters' hearts
> Against their father, fool me not so much
> To bear it tamely; touch me with noble anger,
> And let not women's weapons, water-drops,
> Stain my man's cheeks! (*King Lear* II, iv, 274-81)

We hear him, therefore, later on in that wild night on the storm-beaten heath call down heaven's fury on all mankind.

> Blow, winds, and crack your cheeks! rage! blow! . . .
> . . . And thou, all-shaking thunder,
> Smite flat the thick rotundity of the world!
> Crack nature's moulds, all germins spill at once
> That make ingrateful man! (*King Lear* III, ii, 1, 6-9)
> . . . Spit fire! spout, rain!
> Nor rain, wind, thunder, fire, are my daughters:
> I tax not you, you elements, with unkindness;
> I never gave you kingdom, call'd you children,
> You owe me no subscription: then let fall
> Your horrible pleasure; here I stand your slave,
> A poor, infirm, weak and despis'd old man:
> But yet I call you servile ministers,
> That have with two pernicious daughters join'd
> Your high-engender'd battles 'gainst a head
> So old and white as this. O! O! 'tis foul! (*ibid,* 14-24)

In these latter lines imprecation has sunk to mournful reflection. So, too, in *Isaiah* does apostrophe yield to indignant reflection:

> The ox knoweth his owner,
> And the ass his master's crib:
> But Israel doth not know,
> My people doth not consider,— (*Isaiah* I:3.)

lines which in their pathetic contrast inevitably recall Christ's rejoinder to a half-hearted follower:

> The foxes have holes,
> And the birds of the air have nests,
> But the Son of man
> Hath not where to lay His head. (*Matthew* VIII:20.)

One thinks of Lear, disowned, homeless, storm-buffeted.

> This night, wherein the cub-drawn bear would crouch,
> The lion and the belly-pinchéd wolf
> Keep their fur dry, unbonneted he runs,
> And bids what will take all. (*King Lear* III, i, 12-15.)

Isaiah now turns to a description of the sinful nation, laden with iniquity . . . evil doers, children that are corrupters:

> The whole head is sick,
> And the whole heart faint.
> From the sole of the foot even unto the head
> There is no soundness in it. (*Isaiah* I:5-6.)

In like fashion Gloucester ruminates upon the 'ruinous disorders' of his time.

> ". . . love cools, friendship falls off, brothers divide; in cities, mutinies; in countries, discord; in palaces, treason; and the bond cracked 'twixt son and father."

That such evils call down upon themselves dire destruction is clear to both Isaiah and Shakespeare. Isaiah mourns:

> Your country is desolate,
> Your cities are burned with fire:
> Your land, strangers devour it in your presence,
> And it is desolate, as overthrown by strangers. (*Isaiah* I:7.)

And Shakespeare shows the land invaded by French armies as a result of the plots and intrigues within. In both cases there is left a "very small remnant". (*Isaiah* I:9.)

But not only from this first chapter of *Isaiah* may Shakespeare have received inspiration for the elevation and grandeur with which he has clothed his theme. The contrast between Lear's tender solicitude for the happiness of his daughters in the plans he has cherished for them (*cf.* "Your old frank father, whose kind heart gave all", III, iv, 20) and the vehemence of his curse upon them (when he discovers their callousness and deceit) finds a like

revulsion of feeling in the touching Parable of the Vineyard in the third chapter when the beautiful "song of my beloved" crashes into stern imprecation against the 'wild grapes' which disappoint the hopes of true fruitage,—an inexorable catalog of the people's sins, each indictment followed by a judgment, closing with the weird refrain: "For all this His anger is not turned away, but His hand is stretched out still." George Adam Smith says of these:

> "They form one of the most impressive series of scenes which even an Isaiah has given us. From these scenes Isaiah has spared nothing that is terrible in history or nature . . . The elements of nature and the elemental passions of man have been let loose together, and we follow the violent floods, remembering that it is sin which has burst the gates of the universe, and given the tides of hell full course through it . . . It is poetry of the highest order, but in him who reads it with a conscience more literary sensations are sobered by the awe of some of the most profound moral phenomena of life. The persistence of Divine wrath, the long-lingering effects of sin in a nation's history, man's abuse of sorrow and his defiance of an angry Providence, are the elements of this great drama. Those who are familiar with *King Lear* will recognise these elements and observe how similarly the ways of Providence and the conduct of men are represented here and there."
>
> (George Adam Smith: *The Book of Isaiah,* London, n. d., I:48-49.)

Certain less impressive, but no less significant, parallels may be observed in *Isaiah* III:13 ff. where is imagined a judgment scene in which the elders and princes of the land are arraigned before Jehovah, and sternly sentenced:

> Ye have eaten up the vineyard;
> The spoil of the poor is in your houses.
> What mean ye that ye beat my people to pieces,
> And grind the faces of the poor? (*Isaiah* III:13-15.)

Is it a fantastic echo of this scene in the 'wildered brain of the distraught King Lear which makes him arraign, as he fancies, his daughters before him for trial with mad Edgar and the Fool as justicers?

> Arraign her first; 'tis Goneril. I here take my oath before this honorable assembly, she kicked the poor king her father.
>
> (*King Lear* III, vi, 48-50.)
>
> Then let them anatomize Regan; see what breeds about her heart. Is there any cause in nature that makes these hard hearts? (*Ibid,* 80-82.)

Compare Isaiah's diatribe against the "daughters of Zion" where no pin or point of their haughty vanity and wantonness escapes scathing exposure (vv. 16-28). No wonder he cries in anguish:

> As for my people,
> Children are their oppressors,
> And women rule over them,— (*Isaiah* III:12.)

just as shortly before he had pictured the overthrow of right government—

> And I will give children to be their princes,
> And babes shall rule over them,
> And the people shall be oppressed every one by another,
> And every one by his neighbor:
> The child shall behave himself proudly against the ancient.
> And the base against the honourable.[1] (*Isaiah* III:4-5.)

Powerfully as Shakespeare moves us to poignant sympathy for King Lear in his anguish and to eager assent when he exclaims, "I am a man more sinn'd against than sinning", yet he never minimizes Lear's faults or the gravity of his initial folly. The political folly of the division of his kingdom and of delivering it to the power of women or children was emphasized in the sources of the play,—perhaps to Geoffrey Monmouth a theme particularly pertinent because of its connection with contemporary history in the conflicting claims of his nephew Stephen and his daughter Matilda for succession to Henry I. At any rate, Geoffrey gave it additional treatment in the history (?) of Gorboduc's fatal surrender of his throne to his two sons. Both plots, moreover, were dramatised later at the time when the Wars of the Roses found hopeful solution in the rise of the Tudors.

But Shakespeare's interest here is not—as in other of his plays—in political issues, but in character values. Lear has sinned in his blindness to these, and in his self-centredness, and so has Gloucester. Says Gloucester,

> I stumbled when I saw.: full oft 'tis seen,
> Our means secure us, and our mere defects
> Prove our commodities. (*King Lear* IV, i, 21-23.)

And when later he meets his sovereign, Lear says to him,

> A man may see how this world goes with no eyes. Look with thine ears: See how yond justice rails upon yond thief. Hark, in thine ear: change places, and handy-dandy, which is the justice, which is the thief? Thou hast seen a farmer's dog bark at a beggar?
> And the creature run from the cur? There thou mightst behold the great image of authority: a dog's obeyed in office . . .
> Through tatter'd clothes small vices do appear;
> Robes and furr'd gowns hide all. Plate sin with gold,
> And the strong lance of justice hurtless breaks;
> Arm it in rags, a pigmy's straw does pierce it.
> None does offend, none, I say, none; I'll able'em:
> Take that of me, my friend, who have the power
> To seal th' accuser's lips. (*King Lear,* IV, vi, 153-63, 168-74.)

[1] *Cf. Measure for Measure* I, iii, 30-31. "The baby beats the nurse, and quite athwart Goes all decorum." and the Fool's reproach to Lear;

> ". . . . thou hadst little wit in thy bald crown when thou gavest thy golden one away . . . for when thou gavest them the rod and puttest down thy breeches,
> Then they for sudden joy did weep,
> And I for sorrow sung,
> That such a king should play bo-peep,
> And go the fools among. (*King Lear* I, iv, 177-79, 188-94.)

Lear's own eyes had been opened in the terrible night on the heath.

> Poor naked wretches, wheresoe'er you are,
> That bide the pelting of this pitiless storm,
> How shall your houseless heads and unfed sides,
> Your loop'd and window'd raggedness, defend you
> From seasons such as these? O, I have ta'en
> Too little care of this. Take physic, pomp;
> Expose thyself to feel what wretches feel,
> That thou mayst shake the superflux to them
> And show the heavens more just. (*King Lear* III, iv, 28-36.)

These two passages, which lead directly to the social passion of *Measure for Measure,* in their likeness to that quoted above where Jehovah arraigns the princes and elders and to Isaiah's constant concern for social justice, provide one more argument for my thesis that *Isaiah* may well have inspired Shakespeare to the grandeur of conception in *Lear.*

"TROILUS AND CRESSIDA"—EPILOGUE

Even if *Troilus and Cressida* had never been "clapper-clawd with the palms of the vulgar," it may have been applauded at one or both of the universities, as was Jonson's *Volpone,* which also was acted by the King's men.

Shakespeare's play obviously ends with the music of the march to Troy, ordered by Troilus: the entrance of Pandarus, repeated from V. iii, where it properly belongs, and the epilogue spoken by him were clearly put in for some special performance. "Some two months hence," he says, "my will shall here be made." Now, if the actor who took the part of Pandarus (Lowen?) expected in about two months to reappear before the same audience in the rôle of Volpone, this enigmatical expression would become clear.

Of course, the performance may have been before some other corporation, but the phrase "Pandar's hall" in the first line of the address seems less inappropriate at one of the universities. Moreover, the pompous quarto preface, with its supercilious contempt for the tradesmen of the town, sounds much like the prating of a bumptious undergraduate.

Lewis F. Mott.

College of the City of New York.

Crabbed Age and Youth in "Romeo and Juliet"

By H. EDWARD CAIN

THE tragic idea which informs the action of *Romeo and Juliet* has long been the subject of extensive and varied interpretation. Much of the great body of literature which this play has evoked is discerning and logically solid; yet even the careful student will find himself on occasion uncertain of his way amidst the surprising abundance of its confusion. He will eventually recognize that it contains a good many contradictions and that these contradictions are almost entirely the results of studied efforts to settle upon some one elemental basis as the prevailing and moving force of the tragedy. But it is not an easy matter to distill from its diverse elements a single essence, and to say that this constitutes its basic significance; and, indeed, it may be added that it was never perhaps intended that we do so.

A hasty survey of the work of a number of the better known critics of Shakespeare only serves to confirm this opinion, for it becomes at once apparent that but few critical colors predominate in this motley of commentary. Is Lloyd right when he says: "The hasty precipitancy of the passion of Romeo and Juliet is the ruling motive with which all the accompaniments harmonize . . ."? Does Shakespeare merely answer poetically the question whether after all it is not possible for two lovers to love too ardently? This, as Gervinus has observed, is the constant theme of the speeches of Friar Laurence; and he further observes that this is "the leading idea of the piece".

Others have said that Shakespeare's purpose was to "reveal two loving hearts surrounded by inveterate family hate". Porter and Clark in their edition of the play contend that "the spiritually active element of the plot" is Love versus Hate. Hardly anyone will deny that ample evidence can be adduced to indicate that this is at the bottom of the tragedy; how poignantly foreboding is the cry of Juliet,

My only love sprung from my only hate!

Yet again we read that this is a tragedy of civil strife. Professor MacCracken commits himself and his associates to the belief that Ulrici and Tieck "have rightly emphasized the feud as the one moral cause" of the disaster. This may be said to be nowadays the most widely accepted theory.

There are, however, still others who insist that all the causes of evil are centered in a fateful presence, a Power from without too great to be contradicted, which overshadows the stage upon which the beautiful lovers of Verona come to their untimely end. As De Lamartine has put it, "all is innocence, all

is goodness around them, except the fatality, blind and deaf, which sets a snare for them and drives them into it". But, in the face of this, Granville-Barker professes to see no tragedy of "star-crossed" lovers, no "tragedy of fated disaster, but . . . of opportunity muddled away and marred by ill-luck".

Now these are diverse points of view; still it is not too much to say that there is truth in all of them—though there may be more truth in some than in others. In the hope that someone may be able to find truth in still another point of view, the present writer is led to adduce here a suggestion which so far has perhaps seemed too obvious to demand comment. He does not purpose to settle finally the question of the essential tragedy of Romeo and Juliet; he wishes merely to observe whether this play does not illustrate a Shakespearian attitude toward another one of those human problems with which most of us sooner or later come face to face.

It is possible to interpret this play as a tragedy of "imperfect sympathies" —of stupidity which finds its source in a tragic theme as ancient as time itself: the inability of crabbed age and youth to understand each other. Shakespeare is forever repeating what he wishes to emphasize; thus he tells us over and over again that those about whose feet the tides of tragic fortune ebb and flow are of one company or the other, they are young or they are old. The parents are old, the Nurse is old, and Friar Laurence is old. These are the ones who attempt to govern the minds and wills of Romeo and of Juliet, and Romeo and Juliet are young. That Romeo and Juliet are young is proved not only by Shakespeare's abundance of direct references to their youth and his indication that Juliet is not yet fourteen, but also by the characterization of the lovers and the very passion of their love. However, the point of interest is, as we shall see, that they are irritated and puzzled because their elders do not understand the depth of the emotional forces which are surging in them, and which necessarily color their whole view of life. But let us look first at the old people.

In Capulet, Shakespeare has centered his criticism of senility, its unevenness, its vacillation, its petty pride, and its childishness. On several occasions even the stage-directions refer to him as "old Capulet" (*e.g.* in I, i, where the same epithet is applied to Montague). He is hardly on the stage before his wife gives us the key to his character. See this dotard calling for a weapon his unpracticed and unsteady hand should long since have forgotten, in order to fight an ancient enemy who is as perverse and as self-willed as himself. And see Lady Capulet and Lady Montague, half in scorn and half in anger, attempt to stay their silly brawling.

Cap. What noise is this? Give me my long sword, ho!
La. Cap. A crutch, a crutch! Why call you for a sword?
Cap. My sword, I say! Old Montague is come,
And flourishes his blade in spite of me.

Enter old Montague and Lady Montague

Mon. Thou villain Capulet!—Hold me not, let me go!
La. Mon. Thou shalt not stir one foot to seek a foe! (ll. 68-73)

But the Prince is at hand to make them quit the fray. He informs us that the participants are old, all of them, and that the quarrel is old:

"Three civil brawls, bred of an airy word,
By thee, old Capulet, and Montague,
Have thrice disturb'd the quiet of our streets,
And made Verona's ancient citizens
Cast by their grave-beseeming ornaments,
To wield old partisans, in hands as old,
Canker'd with peace, to part your canker'd hate: (I, i, 82-88)

In I, v, we see Capulet in one of the most characteristic moods of senility. Here he displays the pride of old age in the conquests of its youth:

I have seen the day
When I have worn a visor, and could tell
A whispering tale in a fair lady's ear,
Such as would please: 'tis gone, 'tis gone, 'tis gone:—
(ll. 19-22)

But at the same time he is reluctant to admit that he is as old as he is. He wishes to fancy, at least, that he still views life with the undimmed eyes of youth, even though it is now some thirty years since he was young enough to wear a mask. And then, just as we are about to weary of the small chatter of Capulet and his aged cousin, Shakespeare very deftly diverts our eyes for a moment to another part of the room where stands young Romeo, busy with falling in love. There is a contrast between youth and age!

Only in the case of Lady Capulet does Shakespeare permit us to calculate with any degree of accuracy the ages of these old people; and there is a point of significant interest in this exception. He wishes us to be aware of their *mental age* rather than their *physical age;* the passing years have left a character upon their minds and hearts, if not upon their bodies. Lady Capulet, in her admonitions to Juliet, gives us a definite clue to her age. She says:

Well, think of marriage now; younger than you
Here in Verona, ladies of esteem,
Are made already mothers. By my count
I was your mother much upon these years
That you are now a maid. (I, iii, ll. 69-73)

But in the closing scenes of the play we hear this same woman groaning over the bleeding corpse of Juliet,

O me! this sight of death is as a bell
That warns my old age to a sepulchre. (V, iii, ll. 205-6)

Hence, if this is not one of Shakespeare's little inconsistencies, and if Lady Capulet has calculated aright, this woman who is talking about her old age, is but twenty-eight.

Somewhat the same thing is true of Capulet, who might have stopped masking at thirty or even earlier; thus he would be at the most sixty. But many men at sixty have more youthful minds than he.

Throughout the play Romeo and Juliet are hedged about by minds that have lost all understanding of warm affection. The great dramatist makes clear to us at the outset how little acumen they have, how little wit to plumb the depths of youthful minds. Montague and Lady Montague (in I, i) are unable to say what is wrong with their own son, who is suffering from the pangs of despised love. The mother and Benvolio enumerate all the familiar symptoms of love-sick youth; but it takes Benvolio to get to the bottom of a mystery which neither Montague nor his "many other friends" could solve. With Juliet, the case is much the same. Neither her father nor her mother nor her nurse understands her. Not one of them sees into the depths of her agonized soul. This is most clearly shown (III, v) when the three in turn attempt to make her follow a course she cannot. It does not occur to Lady Capulet that Juliet might possibly be in love with some one else. Her refusal of the carefully chosen Paris is an enigma to this mother whose unnatural wish turns out to be a prophecy,

> I would the fool were married to her grave!

Nor can old Capulet understand why she is not overjoyed at his

> having now provided
> A gentleman of noble parentage
> Of fair demesnes, youthful, and nobly train'd,
> Stuff'd, as they say, with honorable parts,
> Proportion'd as one's thought would wish a man (ll. 178-182)

And when the last of them, the Nurse, has left her presence she gives vent to her strongest and most significant oath,

> Ancient damnation! O most wicked fiend!*

and both of these epithets are applied to the retreating figure of her evil counsellor.

On the other hand, with the exception of Tybalt, who is fiery by nature, or, as he says, a man of "wilful choler", we see that the youngbloods of the two houses have but little interest in the quarrels of their elders. The two lovers would forget their names, and Romeo is not anxious to do battle until

*Ulrici says "Ancient damnation" means "the first damned one". Foster thinks "damnation" means the devil. Better still, perhaps, it means damnation personified in old age. It is the only occasion on which Shakespeare employs the expression. [Schmidt suggests that 'ancient damnation' means 'old sinner'; it may mean 'you damned old rotter'.—Ed.]

Mercutio has been killed. Benvolio is always a peace-maker; as his name suggests, he is everybody's well-wisher. Mercutio himself, a member of neither house, concentrates a wealth of tragic irony in his dying cries as he repeats over and over, like a sad refrain set amidst the jollity of his wit, "a plague o' both your houses!" Standing at death's door, he sees clearly that it is senseless to permit old men's grudges to end young men's lives.

Once in the lines of Juliet and once in the lines of Romeo there is an explicit and striking reference to the remoteness of age from youth, and the consequent inability of either to penetrate the mentality of the other. In II, v, Juliet is awaiting the return of the nurse from her visit to Romeo. The time passes much too slowly for the impatient daughter of Capulet and in her ruminations there is something of scorn for this ancient, rusty-boned bearer of tokens and messages of love, for she lacks the wings of "wind-swift Cupid". But she adds:

> Had she affections and warm youthful blood,
> She'd be as swift in motion as a ball;
> My words would bandy her to my sweet love,
> And his to me;
> But old folks, many feign as they were dead;
> Unwieldly, slow, heavy and pale as lead.—(ll. 12-17)

Romeo voices a like sentiment in III, iii. Friar Laurence attempts to reason with a youth who has just been told that his doom is banishment—banishment from home, wife, love, and hope. The Friar's "philosophy" is valid enough—but it falls upon unreceptive ears. Romeo will hear nothing, and advises the old man to be quiet. But the priest persists:

> *Fri. L.* O, then I see that mad men have no ears.
> *Rom.* How should they, when that wise men have no eyes
> *Fri. L.* Let me dispute with thee of thy estate.
> *Rom.* Thou canst not speak of that thou dost not feel:
> Wert thou as young as I, Juliet thy love,
> An hour but married, Tybalt murderéd,
> Doting like me, and like me banishéd,
> Then might'st thou speak, then might'st thou tear thy hair,
> And fall upon the ground, as I do now,
> Taking the measure of an unmade grave. (ll. 61-70)

Thus we see that in this play Shakespeare has said something of the inability of old age and youth to find mutual understanding. He draws the line sharply between the one and the other. Only in a single character, and that the person of the Prince, does he call ripe manhood, middle-aged wisdom upon the stage.

Finally, when the doom of these young lovers has been sealed in eternity, when we can do no more than gaze in hopeless pity at their tragic end, Shake-

speare prolongs the play for just a few moments while senility troops back upon the stage to view the havoc it has wrought out of its stupidity: the brave and faithful Friar to pledge his "old life . . . some hour before his time"; the withered Montague, bereft of his wife, grief-stricken, lonely, to ask in a trembling voice

> What further woe conspires against mine age? (V, iii, 211).

and Lady Capulet to fancy, as she peers down into her daughter's grave, that she hears the echo of her own death-knell ring from its unsightly depths.

Washington, D. C.

An Experience with Shakspere's "Shrew"

By FRANK LEA SHORT

I SALUTE and congratulate the stage director of one hundred years hence who will awake some morning in the year 2034 and find that he has a successful Shaksperian production on his hands. He will be surprised because he will no doubt have entered upon the production as a labor of love, expecting no profit other than the pleasure one experiences in having done a beautiful thing. Friendly advisers will have told him, singly and in chorus, that "Shakspere is highbrow" and "literary" and "old fashioned" and that "the public does not want it," along with the rest of the rubbish and distortions which are being circulated in an attempt to strangle the world's greatest dramatist.

The dramatic producer of a hundred years from now—or two hundred, for that matter—will find that the response from his audiences is exactly the same as that of the audiences of our time and of Shakspere's own time.

I have just passed through a rare experience with one of the Bard's plays, and experience which (I think) should be recorded.

It was my privilege to direct two companies of Shakspere's *The Taming of the Shrew* for the Dramatic Department of New York's C. W. A., and to be "out front" during nearly all of the seventy performances they gave. Anyone who thinks Shakspere is not wanted or enjoyed by our present "sophisti-

cated moving picture audiences" should have heard the laughter and applause provoked nightly by Shakspere's *Shrew*.

These performances are given free before Civic audiences in and near New York, to spectators from "the highly educated to the highly ignorant". It was most interesting to see our author meet each grade on its own level.

We played colleges, High Schools, Community Houses, and Charitable Institutions, one audience of 1000 colored children in Harlem (all of whom enjoyed it immensely), two boys' reform schools and one girls' reform school, also at Naval Hospitals, at Governors Island (to 600 soldiers), and Fort Slocum (600 soldiers).

When it was first suggested that we send this play on a tour of the Conservation Camps there were many misgivings and wise shaking of heads lest the "boys might not understand Shakspere". The first trip was planned as a sort of "experiment". Shakspere the playwright took good care that the experiment did not fail. I doubt if our reception anywhere was more genuine than among those boys, many of whom had never seen a "flesh and blood" play.

At the end of our second trip to the camps we played at Sing Sing on our way back to New York, and there again we had a most interesting experience, playing before 800 convicts.

There are at present only three C. C. C. circuits; we played *The Taming of the Shrew* at all of them. The play was acted against every conceivable background or no background at all for scenery, and yet the joyous vitality of the play was not in the least impaired.

Lovers of Shakspere are convinced—theoretically—that Ben Jonson's daring and prophetic appraisal of Shakspere as "not of an age, but for all time" is absolutely true, but it is great sport to see it demonstrated night after night.

Notes on the Corpus Christi Plays and "The Green Pastures"

By ROBERT WITHINGTON

MODERN scholars specializing in the field of early drama are prone to stress text, sometimes, rather than consider the details of production. Lists of guild purchases, and stage-directions, with an occasional description of or reference to the guild performances, are our only guides to the latter, save as common sense may come to our aid. Those who, for instance, suggest that there were dressing-rooms under the pageant-wagons, forget that there was neither occasion nor opportunity for the actors to change their costumes during the production of a cycle. There is, of course, no reason to suppose that all the pageant-wagons were alike: some may have had room beneath for the storage of properties, if not to give some actor space to await an entrance to the stage above through a trap-door, while other stages must have been near enough the ground to allow the action to overflow upon the street. Herod could hardly "rage" convincingly, if he had to climb down a ladder from some great height,[1] and get back; he could, perhaps, have fallen, or jumped, three or four feet. Again, if the stages were very high, the people in the street could not have seen much of the action.

The performances of *The Green Pastures*—Marc Connelly's "fable,"—throw some light on other details which students of the Corpus Christi drama are likely to overlook. I do not, of course, mean to imply that this play is produced as mediæval plays were produced—either on pageants or on scaffolds around a "place." But the spirit of the old plays is here, insofar as it can be reproduced in modern times, and we can see the effect of the Biblical material on audiences, who, while "sophisticated," watch the work of naïve actors.

It may be taken for granted, I think, that the author of *The Green Pastures* was not unmindful of the mediæval guild productions.[2] While the play confines itself to Old Testament stories, only hinting—very delicately—

---

[1] See the famous stage-direction in the Coventry *Magi, Herod, and the Slaughter of the Innocents,* after line 783. When "Erode ragis ageyne," after line 801, he may still have been "in the strete."

In the Digby *Mary Magdalene,* the stage of the Devil apparently had an underlayer, perhaps recalling a Hell under some pageant-wagon used for the Last Judgment: "here xal entyr the prynse of dylles in a stage, and Helle ondyr-neth that stage . . . " But it is not clear that any action takes place in "Hell," which may have been only pictured.

[2] When his play was prohibited by the English censor, because God was impersonated on the stage, the playwright is reported to have remarked, "I am mildly surprised to find the Lord Chamberlain's office unable to distinguish the difference between orthodox sacrilege and a simple miracle play." See *Time,* June 30, 1930.

at the material of "Paradise Regained," it reflects, at least as far as actors are concerned, the spirit of the mediæval productions; the childlike attitude attributed to both actors and audience of the Middle Ages is not easily recaptured, and cannot be imitated.

It is, perhaps, worth remarking that *The Green Pastures* (which is not without a supernatural element) barely alludes to, and does not represent, the devils which give a comic touch to the mediæval cycles.

If one needed proof that the unit of the guild plays was the scene on each pageant-wagon rather than the cycle as a whole, one would find it in *The Green Pastures*.[3] In this play there are eighteen scenes in two parts, acts, or divisions; and they are loosely connected by the figure of "the Lawd," who appears in practically all of them. A certain unity is counterfeited by the return, in the final scene, to the heavenly fish-fry of Part I, scene ii,[4] but the general effect of the play is episodic. Each episode stands out as a separate entity, making a series of pictures, rather than a closely-linked whole; there is little attempt to show a cause-and-effect relation between the scenes. As Miss MacKinnon points out (*S P*, July 1931, p. 441 f.) the figure of Deus appears in four closely connected scenes in the York Cycle, but she seems to forget that the part was not taken by the same man (even if the scenes had a common author); and while there may have been an attempt to make the "Dei" resemble each other (in some productions, when God was *vox et praeterea nihil*, the differences might not be marked), the unity which she finds is, I imagine, more obvious to a reader than it was to the audience which witnessed the production. Just what cause-and-effect relationship there might be between the Deluge and the Sacrifice of Isaac,

[3] Miss MacKinnon, in *S P* for July 1931, p. 441, takes me to task for holding this belief. One cannot deny that often the Corpus Christi scenes dealt with connected material—one may even admit that much of this Biblical material was more closely connected in the minds of the mediæval audience than it is in ours. But one may question whether the various dramatists, or those members of the audience who followed one pageant-car on its peregrinations, rather than watched in one place to see all the pageants, regarded each scene in the light of an "act" in a longer play. It is, course, impossible to prove what a mediæval audience thought; but one can note one's own impression on seeing somewhat similar productions. The Oberammergau play gives one a sense of unity, as it tells the story of the events between the Entry into Jerusalem and the Ascension; this unity is lacking in *The Green Pastures*.

[4] The frame—which is more than a prologue—of the Sunday-School class, rehearsing the stories of the early books of the Bible, lasts well into the play, as Mr. Deshee's voice reminds us, from time to time, that his class is still in session. It is unnecessary to point out that this dramatic device was common in Elizabethan times: Peele's *Old Wives Tale*, Greene's *James the Fourth*, and Shakespeare's *Taming of the Shrew* furnish well-known examples.

[5] It might be mentioned that the mysterious shadow of Hosea, which hovers before the door of "the Lawd's" office, without appearing on the stage, exerts a gentle influence upon the Creator, and prepares for the development of a God of Mercy from a God of Wrath. The Lawd's realization of the truth that happiness can come only through suffering would be a climax, if it clearly depended upon anything that had gone before, instead of being (as it seems) a revelation from Hezdrel. There is no character-development in the mediæval cyclic Deus.

for instance, it is hard to say; but Miss MacKinnon does not mean to regard every pageant as a scene in a closely-linked cycle: she finds the cycle made up of "grouped" plays, like the episodes of the *Conterbury Tales*.[5]

In both the old and the new plays, the anachronisms and local touches serve (paradoxically) to add to the realism. The older Noah, praying to the Trinity; Herod, swearing by Mahomet; the shepherds talking of Watling Street, and singing in breves and crotchets; Pharaoh, exhorting his followers to heave up their hearts unto Mahound, and "the Lawd" pocketing a ten-cent cigar, are touches of the same kind, for the same end. The older drama and the modern play had an anthropomorphic God—and the modern audience cannot claim superiority over its ancestors; for though our God may not be a black preacher, or the variously-conceived mediæval Jehovah, he is human, and shares a certain element of the more naïve representations of the Deity.[6] In the Middle Ages, when religion was a vital force in the life of the people, humor was not far removed from it. The spontaneous laughter of pure pleasure is not incompatible with deep religious feeling; the simple are rarely shocked—the innocent have no need of propriety. Our laughter, when it is evoked by mediæval plays, is no echo of the fourteenth-century laughter; those who smiled at *The Green Pastures* admitted their feeling of superiority.

In a recent paper, Mr. Fletcher Collins discusses "Music in the Craft Cycles,"[7] coming to the conclusion that we cannot get an idea of the effect produced by these plays without a knowledge of the music with which they were accompanied. It is unnecessary to remark that the union of music and drama is as old as the drama itself. The word *ode* is seen in both *comedy* and *tragedy*, dating from Greek times. The dialogue of the English liturgical drama was sung in stanzaic form; later, there is the tradition of lyrics in Elizabethan plays; and in the more recent melodramas (*melody* and *drama*), the emotional appeal of certain scenes was heightened by the soft music of the orchestra. Before the era of the "talkies," music added much to the effect of the "movies" (which were pretty flat without it); and if the singing of "spirituals" in *The Green Pastures* contributed no small part to the final

[6] Modern taste objects to the figure of Christ on the stage (unless so disguised, as in *The Passing of the Third Floor Back*, or *The Servant in the House*, that we could mistake him for someone else); but we do not mind "the Lawd." We might object to a presentation of God, if the figure were more like our conception of Him.

[7] *P M L A*, for September 1932, pp. 613-621. After observing that "music—song, particularly—was an integral, dramatic factor in the plays," he notes that "its position and importance are analogous to that in a recent New York production, *The Green Pastures* (1930)." Both this play and the cycles would have been "poorer, less dramatic, less intense, less alive" without the music with which they were accompanied. (p. 621).

impression left by the play, may we not assume that music was equally important in the Corpus Christi Cycles?

The popularity of *The Green Pastures*—partly, of course, due to the excellence of the production, and perhaps also to a certain curiosity on the part of the public—shows that the Biblical material has a universal appeal. If any of the audience came to scoff, the sincerity of the players must have sobered them. Surely the play was written with the spirit of the mediæval dramatist; but the spirit of the public has changed, and cannot be restored to that of the Middle Ages. Even the most sympathetic of us has difficulty in reconstructing the attitude of what we are pleased to call "the naïve public" of six hundred years ago, but if we could see an audience composed entirely of unsophisticated Negroes, with no white man visible, witness *The Green Pastures,* we might get as near the audiences which witnessed the Corpus Christi plays as anyone ever could. As Professor George F. Reynolds has observed (*S P,* October 1931), the audience is not to be ignored.

Miss MacKinnon points out (*loc. cit.,* p. 438) that three manuscripts of the York Cycle "with their 48, 51, and 57 pageants. . . . would seem to indicate extraordinary discrepancies in production at different periods, and one might conclude that the cycle lacked any degree of structural unity." The mere fact that the fluctuation, which "arises from the needs of the crafts for a reapportionment of the material into suitable acting units," can be made, suggests that even if the subject-matter remained the same story from Creation to Judgment, the contemporary audience regarded the individual pageant as the unit, rather than the cycle. The Noah scene, in *The Green Pastures,* could easily be omitted—or another Biblical scene substituted—without disturbing the public (unless it counted on seeing the Noah scene), so loosely is the play woven; one can hardly rearrange acts and scenes in a carefully constructed play—any more than one can rearrange or omit lines in a carefully-written sonnet—without introducing confusion.

There is a danger in attributing to an earlier audience a feeling for "dramatic units" which familiarity with later plays, divided into acts and scenes, has given us—and so in imposing our point of view on a public which at best could vaguely feel such units (larger than the "single scenes on individual pageant wagons")—the unity being somewhat vitiated by the fact that even when the same character appears in more than one "scene," it is acted by different men. (The "central action" of the York Cycle, as Miss MacKinnon points out, employs some thirty "plays"—but each had a different corps of

actors.) On the other hand, it must also be remarked that our susceptibility to act-division may make us peculiarly sensitive to the episodic character of *The Green Pastures.*

Obviously, both "act" and "pageantic scene" are mechanical necessities; the chief difference between them is that one focuses the effect of the whole, while the other refracts this effect. Whereas we rarely think of a given act as we look back on a performance of, say, *Hamlet,* or *The School for Scandal,* we do think of *The Green Pastures* as a series of scenes, and recall the Flood, or the Journey from Egypt, or the night club as a separate entity. Quite possibly the mediæval audiences regarded the cycles similarly[8]—even if a large proportion of the spectators witnessed the complete cycle, year after year.

[8] To its contemporary public, as to us, the *Secunda Pastorum* must have seemed complete in itself. The question of single or multiple authorship of the cycles cannot be touched on here: some cycles may have undergone revision by one man—whether they were written originally by a single dramatist is more doubtful.

EDITORIAL COMMENTS

One who is interested in the Elizabethan theatre or the history of the stage must not fail to read Mr. J. Isaacs' essay, *Production and Stage-Management at the Blackfriars Theatre,* just published by the Oxford University Press. It is, in the author's words, "the first attempt at a systematic outline of the problems of stage-management and production in a private theatre of the Elizabethan and Jacobean period." The pamphlet is only twenty-six pages long and costs eighty cents.

The indefatigable Countess Clara Longworth de Chambrun has just published another book on William Shakspere. It bears the startling and misleading title, *Essential Documents never yet presented in the Shakespeare Case* (printed—wretchedly—by Delmas of Bordeaux, and illustrated with four facsimiles and two half-tone pictures). Among other more than doubtful propositions the Countess asserts that John Shakspere's lost confession of faith was genuine, that he was able to write, that he signed this confession, that our William carved the words "nulla emolumentia laborum" (*i.e.,* "no reward for work") in roman capitals between the hinges of the lid of the desk which the poet is said (on authority of no value) to have occupied at the Stratford grammar school, that the *Sonnets* were not dedicated *to* an unknown "W. H." but *by* William Hervey, the step-father of the Earl of Southampton, that Sir Thomas Lucy for years persecuted the Shaksperes in Stratford and William in London, that Justice Shallow *is* a caricature of Sir Thomas, etc., etc. The Lippincotts of Philadelphia are the American agents for the book.

Mr. Reinhardt directed and staged an out-door performance of *The Merchant* in Venice and of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* somewhere in California. The reviewers are agreed that both performances were notable scenic successes.

The Folio Text of "Troilus and Cressida"

[*Concluded*]

By SAMUEL A. TANNENBAUM

Here perhaps we may best discuss a point raised by Mr. Alexander in his essay. Pointing out that both Q and F print "shrow'd" for "shrewd" (I. ii, 202), he says that this error, like that of "*Cal*" for "*Cre*" (V. ii, 13), is "not due to anything in the copy but to mere inadvertence on the part of the Quarto compositor. In their anxiety to insert the necessary apostrophes in the shortened forms of the past participle, the printers, prompted by the sight of a *d*, frequently add them where they are not required." Why Mr. Alexander thinks that an author or a scribe might not make the same mistake we are not told. Authors and copyists do make such mistakes, just as they also mistakenly dot minims in *m*'s, *n*'s, and *u*'s, and as they sometimes insert apostrophes before an *s*, mistaking the *s* for the remnant of contracted "is," "his" and "us." In this play we have not only "low'd" (for "loud," I. ii, 197), "clow'd" (for "cloud," I. ii, 135), "goe's" (for "goes," I. ii, 9, 12), "Amid'st" (for "Amidst," I. iii, 91), "call's" (for "calls," I. iii, 150), and "do's" (for "does," III. iii, 64), in the Folio, but also "'know" (? for "Let know," II. iii, 41). These to us absurd uses of the apostrophe are paralleled in Q by "simele's" (*sic*, for "similes," III. ii, 188), "seeth's" (for "seethes," III. i, 42), "rap't" (for "rapt," III. iii, 123), "Cram's"[55] (for "Crams," IV. iv, 43), and "Niobe's" (for "Niobes," V. x, 19). An interesting use of the apostrophe occurs in the word "Command'ment" (I. iii, 93, F only). From a study of the text of *Hamlet*, *The Tempest*, and *The Winter's Tale* we know that Shakspere was addicted to the use of apostrophes to indicate elisions. Compositors are much more likely to omit apostrophes than to insert any. F's agreement with Q in reading "shrow'd" is, therefore, only an indication that both texts had a common source.[56] In this case both scribes happened to retain the author's or a previous scribe's error.

The text of F differs from Q's text not only in a few added words and a somewhat larger number of omitted words, but also in mistakes due to carelessness, misreadings, substitutions, and in a few unaccountable variations.

---

[55] A curious parallel to this error occurs in Mr. Deighton's edition, "Leap's" for "Leaps," in the Prologue (line 27).

[56] Undoubtedly some scholars will be interested to learn that in the manuscripts of *A Game at Chesse* we find "ar't" for "art" (the verb), "'great" for "There's great," "'suffices" (for "it suffices"), "Ignorance" (? to indicate a dissyllabic pronunciation), "many' a" (for the same purpose), "'hope" (for "I hope"), "'threatens" (for "he threatens"), "'time" (for "it is time"), "'too" (for "it is too), "'signe" (for "it is a sign"), "'may (for "it may"), and so forth. That an author might himself by mistake insert a superfluous apostrophe into a word is proved by Middletons writing "mean't" for "meant" in *A Game at Chesse* (V. v, 163), "ha's" for "has" (V. iii, 175), "Ton's" for "tons" (V. v, 71), etc. In *The Second Maiden's Tragedy* (1611) we find "allow'es" for "allows" in line 1949.

Whether the substitutions are revisions or survivals of the original text cannot always be determined. Some are probably one and some the other, though the majority are in all probability revisions.

Errors in F which can be explained solely on the basis of misreadings are of special interest in our inquiry. From them it is absolutely certain that F was printed from a manuscript, and not from a printed book. Whether we should hold the scribe or the compositor responsible for the misreadings does not have to be determined in connection with this particular question. It suffices that the misreadings are there, in rather large numbers, and always for the worse.[57] A list of these includes the following:

emures: immures[58] *Prol.* 8 (Read "emures" for "immures".)
Antenonidus: Antenorides[59] *Prol.* 17
*a-scorne: a storm[60] I. i, 39
chides: chid I. ii, 61
*will: wit[61] I. ii, 90
money: an eye I. ii, 258
lowd: broad[62] I. iii, 27
*Retyres : Retorts[63] I. iii, 54
In : On[64] I. iii, 67
her : their[65] I. iii, 118
he : the[65] I. iii, 241
pawne : proue[66] I. iii, 300
*their : thie(=thy) II. i, 114
hard : hare[67] II. ii, 48
made : mad[68] II. ii, 56
same : sieue[69] II. ii, 71
maist : must[70] II. iii, 55
sent : rates[71] II. iii, 86
flight : flexure II. iii, 113
came : come[72] II. iii, 129
Fame : Fam'd[73] II. iii, 249
horrible : horribly III. i, 101
reputed : repured[74] III. ii, 21
*pallats taste : pallate tastes II. ii, 20
and : tun'd[75] III. ii, 23

[57] In this study practically no attention has been paid to the many instances in which F improves upon Q and rectifies many of its blunders. These may be the results of revision by the author, of editing by someone, or of an examination of the author's original manuscript. From them nothing may be inferred.

[58] The Prologue does not appear in Q. The substantive "emures" (=walls) has not been found elsewhere.

[59] Deighton wrongly credits F with "Antenoridus".

[60] Q="a scorne". The scribe or compositor, mistaking *t* for *c* and *m* for *n*, tried to improve on his author by inserting a hyphen. Readings common to Q and F are marked with an asterisk.

[61] *t* and *l* are easily confused.

[62] *b* and *l* are easily confused; *roa* mistaken for *ow*.

[63] "Retorts" is Dyce's plausible emendation and comes nearest to the original if written "retires" (*o* mistaken for *i*, *t* for *e*).

[64] Minuscular *i* and *o* easily confused.

[65] *th* and *h* easily confused; frequently so in Shakspere.

[66] *ro* mistaken for *au* or *aw*; *u* and *n* very easily confused.

[67] *e* for *d* and *d* for *e*, one of the most common mistakes in Elizabethan manuscripts.

[68] Final *d* (in "madd") mistaken for *e*. Hence "say" (*saie*) for "said" in V. ii, 110.

[69] *ieu* mistaken for *am*. Q="siue".

[70] *u* easily mistaken for "open *a*".

[71] A conjectural reading by the present writer. Q="sate". Initial *R* is easily mistaken for *s* and final *es* for *e*.

[72] *a* for *o* errors frequent in this play, and elsewhere in Shakspere. Note "domage," "gat," "object" (for "abject"), *"Calcho's"* (for "Calchas' "), *"quandom"* (for "quondam"), "day" (for "dog"—all in Q.

[73] *d* mistaken for *e*.

[74] *r* mistaken for *t*, as in "pottage" for "porridge" in *King Lear*.

[75] *tu* mistaken for *a*, because of an introductory supra-linear spur. See my *Handwriting of the Renaissance*, page 23, etc.

safe : safer[76] III. ii, 75
grow : grown[77] III. ii, 132
honour'd : honour[67] III. iii, 81
*married : mirror'd III. iii, 110
feasting : fasting[78] III. iii, 137
shrinking : shrieking[79] III. iii, 141
goe : giue III. iii, 178
out : once[80] III. iii, 184
his : this[65] III. iii, 255
Calcha's : Calchas'[81] IV. i, 37
*not : but IV. i, 78
eyes : joys[82] IV. ii, 10
hidiously : tediously[83] IV. ii, 13
our : once[84] IV. iv, 40
visage : usage[85] IV. iv, 119
breach : breath IV. v, 92
Slayd : sleaue[86] V. i, 34
forced : faced[87] V. i, 64
finde : sing[88] V. ii, 10
life : cliff[89] V. ii, 11
say : said V. ii, 110
that test : th' attest V. ii, 118
By-foule : Bi-fold V. ii, 140
Fenne : sun[90] V. ii, 169
distraction : destruction[91] V. iii, 85
yes : yet[92] V. iii, 89
stole : stale[72] V. iv, 12
Polidamus : Polydamas V. v, 6
**Epistropus* : Epistrophus V. v, 11
**Cedus* : Cedius V. v, 11
**Thous* : Thoas V. v, 12
straying : strawy[93] V. v, 24

Further proof—if further proof be needed—that F could not have been printed from a corrected copy of Q is to be found in the large number of misreadings resulting from the introduction or the omission of a final *s*. A study of Elizabethan manuscripts shows that these errors, which sorely puzzled nineteenth-century editors, were due to a confusion between final Roman *e* (commonly employed by Elizabethan penmen) and a terminal flourish which did duty for both *s, as, es, is, os* and *us*.[94] We drew attention to a considerable number of these in Q. Strange to say, a large number occur in F; and, what is even more remarkable and significant, they are not the ones we find in Q,—a striking confirmation of the view that a different scribe prepared the manuscript destined to serve as "copy" for the Folio. F's final-*s* errata, omitting those which may reasonably be defended, are these, the correct reading being to the right of the colon:

---

[76] Final *er*-flourish overlooked. See "soil" for soilure" in Q, IV. i, 56, and "safer" for "safe" in III. ii, 75.
[77] Final *ne* (in "grone," Q (mistaken for *w*.
[78] *a* mistaken for *e* ("festing").
[79] Dotted *i* mistaken for *î* (*in*).
[80] *n* mistaken for *u*, *c* for *t*.
[81] Apostrophe in wrong place,—a very common occurrence in Elizabethan books and manuscripts.
[82] "ioies" mistaken for "eies," *i* for *e*, *o* for *i*.
[83] *t* mistaken for *h*, *e* for *i*.
[84] *n* mistaken for *u*, *c* for *r*.
[85] "vsage" (Q) mistaken for "visage".
[86] "sleue" misread for "sleid".
[87] *a* mistaken for *or*. Note "lad" for "lord" (Q). Correct text uncertain.
[88] Long *s* mistaken for *f* and *d* for *g*.
[89] Initial *c* mistaken for a serif; "life" was often written "lif".
[90] *s* mistaken for *f*, *u* for *a*.
[91] *e* mistaken for *i*, *u* for *a*.
[92] *s* mistaken for *t*.
[93] *wy* mistaken for *ing*.
[94] See my essay, "Notes on *The Comedy of Errors*," in the *Jahrbuch der deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*, volume 69, page 4, or page 73 of my *Handwriting of the Renaissance*.

Barke : barks *Prologue*, 13
chides : chid[95] I. ii, 6
does : do I. ii, 183
judgement : judgments I. ii, 204
Contents : content I. ii, 319
*diverts : divert I. iii, 8
shame : shames I. iii, 19
seemes : seem I. iii, 161
call : calls I. iii, 202
Trumpets sound : *Trumpet sounds* I. iii, 258
Toads stoole : Toadstool[96] II. i, 22
warre : wars II. i, 116
Makes: Make[97] II. ii, 50
clamour: clamors II. ii, 106
Nation: nations II. ii, 185
His legge : His Legs II. iii, 112
tends : tend II. iii, 133
title : titles III. i, 17
make : make's[98] III. i, 94
*Wants : Want III. ii, 188
farewels : farewell[99] III. iii, 169
meetes : meet IV. i, 16
*Grecians : Grecian IV. i, 70
Diomeds : Diomedes' IV. ii, 68
ducke : ducks IV. iv, 11
guift : gifts IV. iv, 77
light : lights V. i, 76
hell : all hell's V. ii, 39
rakes : doth take[100] V. ii, 78
one : one's[101] V. ii, 85
sanctimonie : sanctimonies V. ii, 135
Servants : *Servant* V. v, head
*arme : aims[102] V. vii, 6
sounds : sound V. viii, 16
*pallats taste : pallate tastes III. ii, 20

In the above list, too, five readings common to Q and F are marked with an asterisk.

Errors, other than misprints,[103] which may be attributed to carelessness and inattention are the following:

Stirre : Sperr *Prol.* 19
praise it : praise her I. i, 47
purblinded : purblind I. ii, 32
disdained : disdain I. ii, 36
That : Then I. ii, 319
godly : god-like I. iii, 31
primogenitiue : primogenity I. iii, 106
in : with I. iii, 128
hem : hum I. iii, 165
of it : thereof I. iii, 388
thee vile : the vile II. i, 98
thou : ye II. iii, 15
the : their II. iii, 19
of : on II. iii, 125
doth : does II. iii, 237
Pandarus : Pandar III. ii, 13
Cressida : Cressid III. ii, 65
spoyl'd: soil'd III. ii, 70
not : nor I. ii, 72; III. ii, 80
her Iland : our Islands III. iii, 211
carry : bear III. iii, 313
despightfull'st : despiteful IV. i, 32
it was : 't was IV. i, 36
whereof : wherefore IV. i, 43
no less : nor less IV. i, 65
which : the IV. i, 66
extremitie : extremes IV. ii, 108
I will : I'll IV. ii, 111
towards : to thee IV. iv, 122
there's a : there's IV. v, 55
tickling : ticklish IV. v, 61
a forsworne.— : forsworn. V. ii, 22

---

95 Probably written "chidde" in Shakspere's manuscript.

96 Q=="Tode-stoole".

97 The Folio reading may stand.

98 Quarto=="makes". Apostrophes often wanting in Q and F.

99 Probably due only to carelessness.

100 *t* mistaken for *r* and *e* for *es*: the bewildered scribe or compositor omitted "doth" to make what he thought sense.

101 Q=="on's," good Elizabethan spelling.

102 Capell suggested "aims," and some editors so read. Kinnear suggested "arms". Q agrees with F. Undotted *i* easily mistaken for *r*.

103 Among misprints, which, of course, do not reflect on the scribe, the following may be mentioned: "valiantly," *"Trylus,"* "vnholdsome," "puriritie," "withall" (for "with all"), "orce" (for "force"), "ill" (for "will"), "may" (for "man"), "grcat" (for "great"), "wroth" (for "worth"), "is" (for "it"), "whar" (for "what"), I (for "In"), etc.

within : wherein IV. i, 8
Of : For IV. iii, 2
crosse : dross IV. iv, 9
strange : strain'd IV. iv, 24
in : to IV. iv, 142
yong : yond IV. v, 13
tickling : ticklish IV. v, 61
disprizing : misprizing IV. v, 74
could'st : could IV. v, 144
doth : do V. iii, 82
bed : bait V. viii, 20

It might be thought that the foregoing lists and categories exhaust the differences between Q and F. But it is not so. F diverges from Q at many points in ways quite different from what we have hitherto considered. Carelessness, inattention, oversights, and misreading cannot explain these differences. To account for them we will have to assume either that F gives us the author's revisions, or that it preserves his original text (Q giving us his revisions), or that the variant readings are due to the tamperings of meddling editors. Not impossibly, an examination of the passages in question will show that all three elements entered into the production of the Folio text.

That a tamperer has contributed his share in the formation of F will, I think, be conceded when we compare the Q and F versions of line V. ii, 163:

Harke Greeke, as much I do *Cressid* loue, (Q)
Harke Greek; as much I doe *Cressida* loue; (F)

Metrical and logical considerations clamor for the insertion of the word "as" before "I". The absence of the word in Q and in F proves that the author, or a copyist preceding B and C, had accidentally omitted the word. Someone who came after B's preparation of the Quarto text noted the defect in the verse and corrected (!) it by altering "Cressid" to "Cressida", instead of by inserting the necessary "as". Shakspere could not have done that; but C, the scribe who changed quadrisyllabic "Deiphobus" to trisyllabic "Dyphœbus" could, and did. He may, therefore, not without right, be held responsible for other, no less brilliant, bits of butchery in the Folio version of this play.

Notwithstanding this, it may be shown, with a reasonable degree of certainty, that F gives us the results of Shakspere's own revisions of the play after the copy for Q had been prepared. Our evidence for this lies in the comparison of the following passages in Q and in F:

"You are such a woman a man knowes not at what ward
you lie: (Q) I. ii, 280-281.
"You are such another woman, one knows not at what ward
you lye." F

"As venerable *Nestor* . . .
Should with a bond of ayre strong as the Axel-tree,
(On which heauen rides) knit all the Greekish eares
To his experienc'd tongue:" (F)

"As venerable *Nestor* . . .
Should with a bond of ayre, strong as the Axletree
In[104] which the Heauens ride, knit all Greekes eares
To his[105] experienc'd tongue:" (F)

"the glorious planet Sol,
Corrects the influence of euill Planets," (Q) I. iii, 89 and 92

"the glorious Planet Sol
Corrects the ill Aspects of Planets euill," (F)

"And in my vambrace put my withered braunes" (Q) I. iii, 296
"And in my Vantbrace put this wither'd brawne," (F)

"who may you elce oppose,
That can from *Hector* bring those honours[106] off," (Q) I. ii, 333

"who may you else oppose
That can from *Hector* bring his Honor off," (F)

"Giue pardon to my speech? therefore tis meete,
Achilles meete not *Hector*. let vs like Marchants
First shew foule wares, and thinke perchance theile sell;
If not; the luster of the better shall exceed,
By shewing the worse first:" (Q) I. iii, 356-361

"Giue pardon to my speech:
Therefore 'tis meet, *Achilles* meet not *Hector*:
Let vs (like Merchants) shew our fowlest Wares,
And thinke perchance they'l sell: If not,
The luster of the better yet to shew,
Shall shew the better." (F)

"Speake then thou vnsalted leauen," (Q) II. i, 15.
"Speake then you whinid'st leauen" (F)
"Speak, then, thou vinewedst leaven," (Modern)

No I warrant you, the fooles will shame it." (Q) II. i, 94-95
No I warrant you, for a fooles will shame it." (F)

"Make that demand of the Prouer," (Q) II. iii, 73
"Make that demand to the Creator," (F)

"[we] watch
His course, and time, his ebbs and flowes, and [*sic*] if
The passages, and whole streame of his commencement,
Rode on his tide" (Q) II. iii, 136-139

"[we] watch
His pettish lines,[107] his ebs, his flowes, as if
The passage and whole carriage of this action
Rode on his tyde."[108] (F)

"Thrice fam'd beyond all thy erudition:" (Q) II. iii, 250
"Thrice fam'd beyond, beyond all erudition; (F)

---

104 In Shakspere's hand "in" and "on" were easily confused. See the same confusion in V. ii, 74 and 165.

105 Needlessly replaced by "thy" by Deighton, at the suggestion of Mr. Orger.

106 No "honours" had been mentioned.

107 Error for "lunes" (=lunatic behavior).

108 Deighton conjectures, very plausibly, that the Quarto reading "was probably revised . . . to get rid of such a figure as a *stream* riding upon a *tide*."

"see see your sylence
. . . from my weaknesse drawes
My very soule of councell." (Q) III. ii, 141-143
"see, see, your silence
. . . from my weaknesse drawes
My soule of counsell from me." (F)

"I would be gone:
Where is my wit? I know not what I speake," (Q) III. ii, 160-161
"Where is my wit?
I would be gone: I speake I know not what." (F)

"Th' vnknowne *Aiax,* heauens what a man is there?
A very horse, that has he knowes not what
Nature what things there are.
Most obiect [*sic*] in regard, "(Q) III. iii, 125-128
"The vnknowne *Ajax;*
Heauens what a man is there? a very Horse,
That has he knowes not what. Nature what things there are.
Most abject in regard," (F)

"With the whole quality wherefore:
I feare we shall be much vnwelcome.
Aeneas. That I assure you: *Troylus* had rather Troy were
borne to Greece, then *Cresseid* borne from Troy." (Q) IV. i, 44-47
"With the whole quality whereof [*sic*], I feare
We shall be much vnwelcome.
Aene. That I assure you:
Troylus had rather Troy were borne to Greece,
Then *Cressid* borne from Troy." (F)

"Who in your thoughts, deserues faire *Helen* best, "(Q) IV. i, 53
Who in your thoughts merit faire *Helen* most?" (F)

"Harke, you are call'd, some say the *Genius*
Cries so to him that instantly must die," (Q) IVi. iv, 50-51
"Harke, you are call'd: some say the genius so
Cries, come to him that instantly must dye." (F)

"The Grecian youths are full of quality,
And swelling ore with arts and exercise:" (Q) IV. iv, 77-79
"The Grecian youths are full of qualitie,
Their louing well compos'd, with guift [*sic*] of nature,
Flawing and swelling ore with Arts and exercise:"[109] (F)
"Despising many forfaits and subduments," (Q) IV. v, 187
"And seene thee scorning forfeits and subduments,"[110] (F)

"To taste your bounties, let the trumpets blowe," (Q)
"Beate lowd the Taborins, let the Trumpets blow,"[111] (F) IV. v, 275

"Shee was beloued my Lord, she is, and doth," (Q) IV. v, 292
"She was belou'd, she lou'd; she is, and dooth;" (F)

[109] "Flawing" is probably a misreading of (or, less probably, misprint for) "Flowing," an interlinear substitution for "swelling." Several other passages in this play suggest textual confusion because of interlinear alterations and inadequate or ambiguous deletion.

[110] The revised line was probably intended to follow line 194 and was written in the margin. B was puzzled and retained the original version.

[111] Revised because of "your bounties" in line 273.

"As if those organs were deceptions [*sic*] functions," (Q) V. ii, 119
"As if those organs had deceptious functions," (F)

"So Illion fall thou next, come Troy sinke downe," (Q) V. viii, 11
"So Illion fall thou: now Troy sinke down;" (F)

"Hark, harke, what is this?" (Q) V. ix, 1
"Harke, harke, what shout is that?" (F)

Alterations affecting one or more words occur abundantly in both Q and F. In the latter we have little doubt about the superiority of the following:[112]

"virtue, youth, liberality, and *such like* [so forth],"[113] I. ii, 275
"Do you . . . behold our works, / And *call* [think] them shames? I. ii, 19
"Troy in our weakness *stands* [lives],[114] not in her strength." I. iii, 137
"with ridiculous and *silly* [awkward] action . . . / He pageants us. I. iii, 149
"Achilles . . . Cries Excellent! 'tis Agamemnon *right* [just]."[115] I. iii, 164
"waken reverence, And *bid* [on] the cheek be ready with a blush" I. iii, 227
"*And feeds* [That seeks] his praise more than he fears his peril" I. iii, 226
"Than ever Greek did *couple* [compass] in his arms;" I. iii, 275

"Now heavens *forfend* [forbid] such scarcity of *men* [youth]!" I. iii, 301
"*Why* [Yes], 'tis most meet:" I. iii, 332
"Were he not proud, we all should *share* [wear] with him:"[116] I. iii, 367
"Give him allowance *for the better* [as the worthier] man," I. iii, 376
"No, I warrant you; *the* [for a] fool's will shame it." II. i, 94
"She is not worth what she doth cost/ The *keeping*[117] [holding]." II. ii, 52
"the will dotes that is *attractive* [inclinable]" II. ii, 58
"he brought home *worthy* [noble] prize," II. ii, 86
"If I could *a* [have] remembered"[118] II. iii, 29
"If you give way,/ Or *turn* [hedge] aside" II. iii, 158
"I constantly *believe* [do think]," IV. i, 40
"She was belov'd, *my lord* [she lov'd]; she is, and doth:" IV. v, 292
"the goodly transformation of Jupiter there, his *be* [brother],[119]
the bull," V. i, 59
"*How now, my lord!* [Why, how now, lord!]" V. ii, 42

"That cause sets up with and against *itself* [thy self];" V. ii, 139
"the reliques/ Of her o'er eaten faith are *given*[120] [bound] to Diomed."
V. ii, 156

---

112 In the ensuing quotations the Folio correction, in square brackets, replaces the word or words in italics.

113 Everywhere else Shakspere uses "such like" as an adjective, *e.g.*, "such-like valor." This may be the reason for this correction.

114 "Lives" (=continues to live) fits the medical imagery of lines 131-141 better than "stands".

115 To avoid the repetition of "right" in line 170 ?

116 Because "share" occurs in the previous line ?

117 "Keeping" might be mistaken here for "maintenance". See lines 81 and 149. Besides, "holding" is a much more active word than "keeping".

118 It is noteworthy that F generally "corrects" Thersites' tendency to slovenliness in speech. *Cf.* "he" for "a" in V. ii, 132. Whether Shakspere did this, or an editor, it is impossible to say.

119 Q's curious error may be explained thus: Shakspere wrote "br" as an abbreviation for "brother", and the copyist read it as "be". From Shakspere's signature on the third page of his will we know that his final secretary *r* sometimes looked like a secretary *e*. In V. i, 62, Q reads "bare" where F reads, and the text requires, "brother's" (F="Brothers"), showing that here Shakspere wrote "brs" as an abbreviation; the dull compositor, reading it as "bre", converted it to "bare".

120 "Scraps" are more properly "given" than "bound" to one.

"Now is my day's work done; I'll take *my* [good][121] breath:" V. viii, 3
"So Ilion, fall thou *next, come* [now] Troy sink down!" V. viii, 11
"Hark! hark! *What* [what shout] is *this* [that]?" V. ix, 1
"you *proud* [vile][122] abominable tents,/ thus proudly *pitch'd* [pight] upon our Phrygian plains," V. x, 23-24.

Notwithstanding the evidences that F gives of being a partially revised text, one is somewhat amazed to find that in a considerable number of instances Q gives us the better text. In our list of these passages, which follows, the Folio readings will be enclosed in square brackets, as in the previous list. Needless to say, the occurrence of passages in F which are inferior to their counterparts in Q, many of which have already been pointed out, proves incontrovertibly that F could not have been printed from Q or from a corrected copy of Q.[123]

"That one meets Hector; if none else, *I am he* [I'll be he].[124] I. iii, 289
"If there be not in our Grecian *host* [mould]/One noble man" I. iii, 292
"If *ye* [thou] take not that little . . . from them" II. iii, 15
"a good quarrel to draw *emulous factions* [emulations, factions]," II. iii, 79
"it was a strong *composure* [counsel that] a fool could disunite." II. iii, 107
"Kingdom'd *Achilles* . . . rages, And batters *down himself* [gainst itself]." II. iii, 185.
"The grief is fine, . . . / And *violenteth* [no less] in a sense as strong" IV. iv, 4.
"we'll forth and fight,/ Do deeds *worth* [of] praise" V. iii, 93
"why should our endeavor be so *loved* [desired[125]]," V. x, 40.

Our study of the differences between Q and F is not yet complete. In a rather large number of passages the two early texts differ in a way which cannot always be accounted for. Compositors' or copyists' caprice or habit of thought may explain some, but only some. And the differences are of such a nature that no Shakspere scholar will venture to say "this is" or "this is not" the Master's word, even where profound psychological or philosophical meanings may be read into one or the other text. (See, for example, the differences in lines V. ii, 58 or V. vii, 26.) A partial list of these follows:[126]

amongst : among I. ii, 267
among : amongst I. iii, 264
and : if II. i, 109
a : he II. i, 110
does : doth II. iii, 237
thine : thy II. iii, 251
be : are III. ii, 119
of : a III. iii, 306
For : Of IV. iii, 2
afeard : afraid IV. iv, 82
you : my IV. iv, 132
the : you IV. v, 65

[121] "Good" serves to intensify Hector's abandonment to relaxation. It shows him to us completely unarmed and off his guard.
[122] Because of "proudly" in the next line. "Pight" goes better with assonantal "vile".
[123] Errors due to misreading, inattention, omissions, etc., which have been previously tabulated, are not considered in the following list.
[124] Corrected because of "be" at the end of the preceding line.
[125] "Desired" is better than "loved" because it implies, correctly, that Troilus solicited Pandarus's assistance to win the beautiful harlot to his lust.
[126] The Quarto reading is to the left and the Folio reading to the right of the colon.

my : mine IV. v, 161; V. x, 35
to some : unto IV. v, 190
Yon : Yond IV. v, 220
an : the IV. v, 252
you : thee IV. v, 284
But : As IV. v, 287
said : thought V. i, 16
in : i' V. i, 21
Now : Nay V. ii, 36
my : sweet V. ii, 58
you : me V. ii, 98
a : he V. ii, 132
be : are V. ii, 135
was : is V. ii, 138
bound : given V. ii, 156
I : thou V. vi, 26
my : good V. viii, 3
their : there V. x, 17
loved : desired V. x, 40

We have had occasion previously to point out that scribe B did not bring too much intelligence to the performance of his task. Scribe C did much better, but he too was guilty occasionally of glaring absurdities, even though, according to current theories of the relationship between Q and F, he had the advantage of consulting the text printed in 1609. As to this we shall quote only two passages:

> "We two[127] [says Troilus] must poorely sell our selues,
> With the rude breuitie and discharge of our [*sic*]
> Iniurious time; now with a robbers haste
> Crams his rich theeuerie vp, he knowes not how." (IV. iv, 40-43).

It will prove interesting to compare this with the Quarto version, as regards elisions, misreadings, and punctuation:

> "We two . . . must poorely sell our selues:
> With the rude breuity, and discharge of one,
> Iniurious time now with a robbers hast,
> Cram's his ritch theeu'ry vp hee knowes not how."

For the correct text see Professor R. M. Smith's edition or the "Cambridge Shakespeare." Another, even more absurd corruption occurs in the scene in which Thersites, Ulysses, and Troilus are witnesses of the tryst between Diomedes and Cressida. Worldly-wise Ulysses remarks to the disillusioned Troilus, "She will sing any man at first sight"; cynical Thersites mutters to himself, "And any man may find her, if he can take her life." The Quarto text reads, correctly, "And any man may sing her, if he can take her cliff."[128]

Such absurdities serve to establish the facts that F was not printed from Q, was set up from a manuscript which was difficult to read (or that the copyist could not decipher his original), that the copies for Q were prepared by different scribes, and that the F text, though better than Q's, is *not* careful and was not authorized.

But thoughtlessness on the part of the copyist will not explain all of the

[127] Mr. Deighton's edition erroneously reads "to". That volume contains a number of other bad blunders: "their" for "the" (III. ii, 195), "feverish" for "feverous" (III. ii, 36), "coggling" for "cogging" (V. vi, 11), etc.

[128] In Shakspere's day "cliff" was a common variant for "cleft" (=clef, vulva).

textual absurdities. Some of these are undoubtedly due to the confused state of the manuscript the copyist was transcribing. In some spots he must have been unable to decide what had been deleted and what not. As instances of such passages we shall quote the following:[129]

"Good armes, strong ioints,, true *sword* [swords] & *great Ioues* [Joues][130] accord" I. iii, 237
"But if there be not in our Grecian *host* [mould]
A [one] noble man that hath *no* [one] spark of fire" I. iii, 292-293
"Speak, then, *thou* [you] *unsalted* [whinid'st[131]] leaven," II. i, 15
"Virgins and boys, mid-age and wrinkled *elders* [old][132]," II. i, 104
"*Yea,* [and] like fair fruit in any unwholesome dish," II. iii, 127
"And batters *down himself* [gainst itself]:" II. iii, 185
"Light boats [may] sail swift," II. iii, 273
"And *violenteth* [no less] in a sense as strong" IV. iv, 4
"To shame the zeal of my petition *to thee* [towards]" IV. iv, 122
"That I have said *to some* [unto] my standers by" IV. v, 190
"As if those organs *were deceptions* [had deceptious] functions" V. ii, 119.

From all that has preceded, it must be evident that different scribes had been engaged in the preparation of the two "copies" for printers; that these scribes encountered different difficulties in the reading of the manuscripts they were working from; that one failed in one place and the other in another; that their "copy" was, in all probability, the author's original manuscript; that this manuscript was anything but a clean copy, being marred with blots, deletions, corrections, and interlineations; that these scribes did not consult the author in attempting to solve their difficulties; that both copyists occasionally retained deleted matter; that the original manuscript contained but few stage-directions; that the stage-directions in Q and F were supplied, without any authority, by different persons; that the original manuscript had undergone considerable revision after scribe B had made his transcript; and that, therefore, F was not set up from a "playhouse manuscript".

Several times in the preceding pages we had occasion to direct attention to the fact that the fifth act of the play shows peculiarities which distinguish it from the preceding four acts. A consideration of these minutiae compels

---

129 The Quarto reading is in italics, the Folio reading in square brackets.

130 Shakspere may have deleted "and" and written "grant Jove's accord," *i.e.,* Jove's accord being granted. "Great" for "grant" would be an easy misreading. He may subsequently have decided to strike out "grant," retaining "and". F omitted "great".

131 Modern editors read "thou" and either "vinew'dst" (with Knight), "whinew'd'st" (with Collier's "Perkins"), "vinied'st" (with Rann), "vinew'd" (with Johnson), or "unwinnow'd'st" (with Theobald), etc.

132 Shakspere probably first wrote "elders," then struck out the last three letters: C mistook "eld" (the modern reading) for "old."

us to conclude that this act underwent more thorough revision than the others. It is, therefore, more than likely that this explains why some critics question the authenticity of scenes 4-10.

Scene 5 opens clumsily with Diomedes sending Troilus's horse to Cressida, making us think that he had slain Troilus. We are not told how Diomedes got Troilus's horse, and neither are we told Cressida's pretty reply to Diomedes, though Caxton, Shakspere's "source," gives both. Nor are we informed how Troilus comes off in his hand-to-hand combat with Diomedes and Ajax, or why Hector did not take a hand in that encounter. And we should undoubtedly all like to be informed how Troilus knows (see V. x, 26) that Achilles took a cowardly advantage of Hector's unarmed state. Finally, we feel the need for an explanation of Pandarus's presence (V. x, 32-46) on the battlefield, and of his beginning his address to Troilus with the word "But" (V. x, 32), a word which was perfectly appropriate at the end of V. iii.

If we assume that at a trial performance, possibly on a Sunday night, Shakspere and his friends realized that the original version of the play, written with obvious satirical intent, was a failure, and that thereafter Shakspere tried to cure it of the malady afflicting it by shifting the Pandarus episode and revising parts of the fifth act, we have the explanation for the features of this act which have so troubled the commentators. Shakspere discovered or felt that even in the revised state the play was not as he wanted it, and set it aside for later doctoring. In the meantime the "war of the theatres," which had inspired it, had come to an amicable end. That settled the play's career on the stage and doomed it to become a closet drama. Shakspere's friends wanted copies of it. A scribe was engaged to make such transcripts. A play by "sweet Will" which had failed and which was permanently withdrawn from the boards! Some time later Shakspere's artistic impulse, and his interest in the characters he had called into being, induced him to go over his manuscript and to touch it up here and there. An intimate friend, knowing this, desired a copy, which was prepared. In 1609, for reasons which we cannot guess, unless there was some talk of a revival of the play, Bonian and Walley, having obtained a copy of the earlier manuscript, published it. Twelve years later, Walley, knowing that he had a unique item in his shop, refused to lend his copy to Heminge and Condell. But Shakspere's fellows fortunately succeeded, almost at the last moment, in locating a copy of the revised version and sent it to the printer. Here, we venture to say, in this fantasy we have an explanation for the mysteries associated with this play, such as, the two title-

pages of the Quarto, the omission of the play from the list of Contents in the Folio, and the dual pagination in that volume.[133]

POSTSCRIPT A.

One who has been in the habit of studying Elizabethan books with a view to ascertaining the calligraphic characteristics which must be held responsible for their textual errors cannot resist the temptation to re-create from the blunders and misreadings in *Troilus and Cressida* some of the peculiarities of Shakspere's penmanship. Where Q and F agree, it is perfectly legitimate to attribute the error to the original manuscript, which we designate as "A." But where Q and F do not agree, the error may be due to peculiarities in the handwritings of copyists B and C. But they may also be due to peculiarities in Shakspere's penmanship. Here, then, we must proceed warily.

Having regard to the errors common to Q and F, we have drawn up the following table of literal identities in Shakspere's script:

a : u,	*Thous* : Thoas[134]
o : a,	a th' head : o' th' head
e : o,	old : eld
e : s,	palats : palate
s : e,	taste : tastes
r : a,	*Cal* : *Cre*
e : l	*Cal* : *Cre*
t : l,	will : wit
t : c,	scorn : storm
m : n,	scorn : storm
b : n,	not : but
u : o,	not : but
iv : u,	*Cedus* : Cedius[135]
iv : oe,	goe : give
ir : a,	married : mirror'd
or: ie,	married : mirror'd.[136]

[133] We cannot help thinking that it may have been the fate of this play which caused Shakspere to put the following words into the mouth of Hamlet:

> "I heard thee speak me a speech once, but it was never acted; or, if it was, not above once, for the play, I remember, pleased not the million. 'Twas caviare to the general . . . one said there were no sallets in the lines to make the matter savory."

Many since then, apprehending it as little as that "one," have found *Troilus and Cressida* unsavory. That *Troilus and Cressida* was written just before *Hamlet* I feel with a conviction which it would take much to shake. Troilus is a younger and more romantic Prince of Denmark, whose faith in mankind is shattered in his first encounter with—woman. In the earlier play Shakspere sets his hero on a stage of fools—even Ulysses is only a loquacious, unpractical, though wise fool, and Hector sacrifices his life, betraying the dear ones who depended on him, for a glittering golden armor. In the latter play Shakspere sets his hero on a stage of self-seeking sycophants and ruthless villains. Troilus and Hamlet, not Ulysses, are Shakspere.

[134] To be interpreted thus: *a* mistaken for *u*, hence "Thous" for "Thoas."

[135] Shakspere was careless in the matter of minims, sometimes omitting one, sometimes adding one.

[136] Seven of the above are not listed in the late Leon Kellner's *Restoring Shakspere.*

We also know from certain errors that Shakspere, like his contemporaries, sometimes put his apostrophes in the wrong place (hence *"Calcho's"* and *"Calcha's"* for "Chalchas' "), that he occasionally inserted an apostrophe where none was needed (hence "shrow'dly" for "shrewdly"), that he often omitted necessary apostrophes (hence "whose" for "who's"), and that he often failed to join an initial vowel to the rest of a word (hence "o yes" for "oyes," and "a foote" for "afoot").

In our attempt to reconstruct Shakspere's handwriting peculiarities from the errata in those of his plays, as, for example, *Hamlet, The Winter's Tale* and *The Tempest,* which we think were printed from his own manuscripts, we have a right to include *Troilus and Cressida* in our investigation. We have this right not only because we have ample justification now for considering both early versions of this play transcripts of the original manuscript, but also because the errors in those versions, apart from those which they have in common, are parallelled by identical errors of misreading in the other good texts in the Folio. Besides, Q and F have so many identical literal errors (that is, errors affecting single letters) that one would not be justified in attributing all or many such errors to the compositor, rather than to the copyists. But undoubtedly some of the errors were due to the compositor's difficulties in reading the scribe's transcripts; unfortunately these cannot be distinguished from the errors of the scribes. Bearing, then, in mind the probability of being in error in some of our literal equivalents, we proceed to draw up the following table:

i : e — emures : immures
r : n, e : u — *Antenonidus* : Antenorides
s : e — include : includes
p : t, e : i — Stir : Sper[137]
u : o — stroke : struck
e : d — disdaind : disdain, hard : hare
r : t — not : nor, reputed : repured
2 : 1 — two and fifty : one and fifty[138]
e : s — does : do(e)
ei : oe — Doephobus : Deiphobus
an : mo —— money : an eye[139]
n : r — ore : on
b : 1, ro : ou — loud : broad

[137] In hasty secretary writing a *p* after long *s* might not be drawn below the line; it would then look like a *t*.

[138] The figure *2* is often difficult to distinguish from a *1* in Elizabethan manuscripts. See my *Handwriting of the Renaissance,* page 155.

[139] In an essay on "The Marriage of Wit and Wisdom" (in *Philological Quarterly,* 40:321-340, October, 1930) I pointed out (on page 327) several examples of initial *m* mistaken for *on* and *an*. That the same thing occurs in Shakspere too I pointed out in an essay, "Some Emendations of Shakspere's Text," in the *Shakespeare Association Bulletin,* 6:105-110, July, 1931.

pa : an — ancient : patient[140]
o : i, t : e — Retires : Retorts
ie : e — the : thy
e : l — melts : meets
th : h[141] — her : their, he : the
r : i — eies : eres (ears)[142]
n : a, c : t — seat : sence (sense)
u : e — restie : rusty
or : a — a : or, lad : lord
on : a — A : One[143]
roo: aw, u(v) : n — pawne : prove
u : i — this : thus, lines : lunes
e : ee, ee : e — the : thee, thee : the[144]
iu : u — dyminutue : diminutive, vnrespectue : unrespective, Cedus : Cedius
d : e — made : mad(d), Fame : Fam'd
ieu : am — same : sieve
e : o — old : eld, too : toe
R : s — sate : rates[145]
e : i, x : g, u : h, t : r — flight : flexure[146]
o : a — came : come, gat : got
t : l, tl : k — liked : titled
a : u — push : pash, court : coact
l : t, t : l — tell : let
u : n — yon : you, find : fiue
u : a — call : cull
h : b — bulks : hulks
i : i — invisible : invincible[147]
o : e — Deiphoebus : Deiphobus, these : those
e : r, th : h — her : thee
t : a — and : tun'd[148]
s : f, e : t — fight : sigh(e), find : sing
c : l — louer : crown[149]
per : a — affection : perfection[150]

---

[140] Minuscular *p*, made with a short descender, may be mistaken for an *a*.

[141] A very common error in Shakspere's texts.

[142] There is indubitable evidence that Shakspere often failed to dot his *i*'s. See my *Problems* in *Shakspere's Penmanship*, pages 29, 33, 41, etc. It seems that when he did dot an *i* he did so without lifting the pen off the paper in passing from the *i* to the dot, thus producing a letter which was easily mistaken for an *e* or an *o*.

[143] We must not forget that "on" was good Elizabethan spelling for "one," just as "one" was correct for "on." It is evident from this and many other indicia that Shakspere seldom began a line of verse with a capital letter. In this, too, he was a true Elizabethan.

[144] That *e* and *ee* may be confused is well shown in Sir Walter Raleighs penmanship. See a facsimile of Sir Walter's chirography in *Problems in Shakspere's Penmanship*, facsimile number 57, facing page 209.

[145] Elizabethans often began an important wort with a capital letter. Some writers were fond of certain majuscules and used them for no other reason; they sometimes introduced a capital letter even into the middle of a word.

[146] A small secretary *x* resembles a *g* made with the returning upstroke to the right instead of to the left of the descender. A *u* with a tall initial minim resembles an *h*.

[147] A conjecture by the present writer, but anticipated by Andrew Becket, in my essay, "Notes on *Troilus and Cressida*," in the *Shakespeare Association Bulletin*, 7:72-81, April, 1932.

[148] Such a mistake was easily possible because of the common habit of beginning an *a* with a long supralinear "spur".

[149] Thomas Heywood's Roman *c* is often indistinguishable from his *l*.

[150] An *a*, beginning with a long infralinear spur, may be mistaken for a *p*. The scribe would convert what he mistook for "pfection" into "perfection".

w : u(n) — grown *or* grone : grown
y : g — age : aye[151]
sh : ay — ayming : shining[152]
n : y — may : man[153]
a : o — object : abject, stole : stale
i : i — shrinking : shrieking (shriking = Q)
t : c — passe : past
n : u, c : t — once
t : h, — hideously : tediously
t : b — neighbor : nature[154]
d : g — strange : strain'd, find : sing[155]
e : r, n : u — our : one
u : v — visage : usave
r : a, p : y — day : drop
o : e, a : r — e(a)rth : oath
y : x — box : box
st : s — meanes : meanest
r : u — you : yo(u)r
c : r — Court : Co-act
i : o — on : in
a : re — *Cres.* : *Cas.*
t : s — yea : yet
i : a — begin : began
w : in, y : g — stra(y)ing : strawy
roe: tan — spartan : sparro(w)e
s : f — Fenne : sun(ne)[156]

POSTSCRIPT B.

Recalling that the British Museum is the fortunate possessor of the famous, many-authored play of *Sir Thomas Moore,* three pages of which have been attributed to Shakspere's own hand by a number of modern scholars, one may not unreasonably ask whether the preceding investigation throws any light on this vexatious and tantalizing problem.[157]

In the second of my two books on the play of *Sir Thomas Moore*—by Anthony Munday, Henry Chettle, Thomas Dekker, Thomas Heywood, Thomas Kyd

[151] Hence "year" for "gear"(?) in *The Merchant of Venice,* I. i, 44, and "dayes" for "dogs" in *King Lear,* II. ii, 86. We have "day" for "dog" in our play, in V. i, 67.

[152] With a long introductory upstroke a secretary *a* looks almost exactly like a long secretary *s*. Secretary *h* was an infralinear letter and often resembled a *y* very closely.

[153] An *n* whose second minim went below the line resembled a *y*. See *The Handwriting of the Renaissance,* page 58.

[154] We conjecture that the copyist, mistaking *t* for *b,* read "nabure" instead of "nature" and therefore added the word "Pandar" to make sense of the passage (IV. ii, 75). The spelling "nabure" is no objection to this surmise; in F we find "tenure" (II. i, 98) for "tenour".

[155] We also have "yong" for "yond" in F (IV. v, 13). The occurrence of three instances (all in F) in which a *d* was mistaken for a *g* proves that either Shakspere or the copying scribe made a *d* with a descending finial which went in a curved direction down and below the line, thus making it resemble a *g*. Professor Kellner, by the way, does not refer to a single instance of a *g* : *d* error in the Shakspere canon.

[156] Twenty-nine of the above "equations," if we may call them that, are not mentioned by Professor Kellner.

[157] See my privately printed brochures, *The Booke of 'Sir Thomas Moore': a Bibliotic Study* (The Tenny Press, 1927) and *Shakspere and 'Sir Thomas Moore'* (1929).

(as I think), and one other alleged to be Shakspere—I maintained (pages 62 and 63) that from certain errors in the Shakspere Quartos and in the Folio we should expect certain characteristics, five in number, to appear in the manuscript attributed to Shakspere. But those characteristics do not appear in those pages. It is, therefore, impossible, I argued, for Shakspere to have written those pages with his own hand. That he could not have dictated them is certain from other considerations, into which we need not go at present. From our study of the handwriting peculiarities of the manuscripts of *Troilus and Cressida* we are in a position to say that those to which any significance may be attached do not appear in the three questioned folios. In the penmanship of a person writing the secretary script fluently an *n* may be mistaken for a *u* (*v*), *e* for *d*, *d* for *e*, *t* for *v*, in (undotted) for *m*, *m* for *in* (undotted), *n* for *r*, *r* for *n*, *c* for *t*, *t* for c, *a* for *oi*, *oi* for *a*, (open) *a* for *u*, *u* for *a*, long *s* for *f*, *f* for long *s*, *un* for *m*, *e* for *o*, *p* for *x*, *y* for *h*, and so forth. But Shakspere's handwriting, judging from his seven authentic signatures,[158] differs from the calligraphy of the writer ("D") of folios 8 and 9 of the *Sir Thomas Moore* manuscript in the following details: he made frequent use of apostrophes (D has not a single apostrophe in the 147 lines in his hand), employed hyphens freely in compound words (D never did so), rarely dotted his *i*'s (D rarely failed to dot them), made the sign for "and" (*&*) in such a way that it was mistakable for *a* (D seems never to have employed the ampersand and not to have made an *a* which could be mistaken for *&*), was much more careful in the matter of punctuation than D, and made frequent use of parentheses, sometimes incorrectly, whereas D has not a single parenthesis in the whole of his holographic contribution to *Sir Thomas Moore*. Shakspere seems also to have written more rapidly and less painstakingly than D. That is why in his manuscripts, but not in D's, it was possible to make the following mistakes: *a* for *o*, *o* for *a*, *b* for *l*, Roman *e* for *s* and *es*, *s* and *es* for Roman *e*, *a* for *or* (D's *a* may be mistaken for *oi*, not for *or*), *or* for *a*, *i* for *e*, *e* for *i*, *d* for *g*, *h* for *th*, *th* for *h*, *n* for *y*, *g* for *y*, *h* for *b*, *ī* for *i*, *e* for *r*, *r* for *e*, *e* for *l*, *l* for *c*, *R* for *s*, *u* for *h*, *to* for *r*, *r* for *t*, *m* for *an*, and *ar*, *ee* for *e*, *e* for *ee*, *u* for *e*, *b* for *t*, *o* for *v*, *r* for *c*, *t* for *k*, *k* for *tl*, and so forth. That D's handwriting is utterly unlike Shakspere's, when compared with his surviving signatures, I have shown in the books previously cited.

---

158 I say "seven authentic signatures" because I am convinced that the autograph "William Shakspere" on the fly-leaf of a certain copy of Montaigne's *Essaies* (in the British Museum) is, beyond a doubt, genuine and holographic. See Chapter IX of my book, *Problems in Shakspere's Penmanship*.

Editorial Notes

By S. A. T.

On the basis of the evidence afforded by the very fine "Shakspere" signature in a copy of the 1603 edition of Montaigne's *Essays,* a book which is now in the British Museum, we shall hereafter follow the example of the Columbia University Press—one of the most active publishers in America—and spell the poet's name as the most distinguished bearer of the name spelled it, that is, without an *e* after the *k* and without an *a* in the second syllable. We may recall that the poet so wrote it at the bottom of the first and second pages of his will; in two of his other signatures, one on a deed and one on a mortgage, the final letters seem to have been trimmed away with scissors to make the label bearing them fit the slit in the documents; another signature was written hurriedly and abbreviated into a kind of monogram; the last few letters of the signature on the last (third) page of his will cannot be definitely determined because of the trembling hand which penned them. Contributors to the Bulletin may, however, spell the name as they please, and their wish will be respected.

The H. W. Wilson Co. of New York has just published a book which is indispensable not only to the Shaksperian scholar but to all who are interested in the theatre. It is written by Miss Blanch Baker and is entitled *Dramatic Bibliography: An Annotated List of* [4000] *Books on the History and Criticism of the Drama and Stage and on the Allied Arts of the Theatre,* and sells for the modest (?) sum of eight dollars. Every item is annotated, the names of the writers are given in full (even more fully than is necessary), and we are even told whether the books are still in print and for what price each book was published. Our only regret is that many books which we consider important have apparently eluded the compiler. A supplemental volume will undoubtedly follow.

The Cambridge University Press is to be congratulated on the publication of Miss Frances A. Yates's book on John Florio* the translator of Montaigne's *Essays,* one of the greatest books in the world. It was time that a good and thorough book on this eccentric Italian, who had adopted England as his home, was done. Miss Yates has done her job well. Those who are familiar with Professor G. C. Taylor's brilliant essay on the influence of the language of Montaigne's *Essays* on Shakspere will be especially grateful to Miss Yates.

Shaksperians will regard with interest Miss Yates's conclusions that Holofernes, in *Love's Labors' Lost,* is not a portraiture of John Florio, but that both Armado and Holofernes were so drawn by Shakspere that the audience recognized Florio's "very voice and manner" in both. We doubt this, but we shall reserve judgment till the appearance of Miss Yates's next book, which, she says, will be devoted to a study of the Florio-Shakspere relationship.

Our president is planning a membership drive in which we ask our members to co-operate. Remember, the dues are only two dollars a year and that there is no extra charge for the Bulletin.

**John Florio; the Life of an Italian in Shakespeare's England,* pp. viii + 364, $5.25. (Macmillan Co.)

We must ask our members not to send us *books* on Shakspere for publication by the Association. We are not ready yet for such an undertaking. Just as soon as some kind millionaire endows us with a sufficiently large fund to enable us to venture into the publishing business we shall announce the fact in the Bulletin. Till then we must all sprinkle cool patience on the heat of our distemper.

The annual banquet, we are glad to announce, will be held on Sunday, December 9th, at The National Arts Club (Number 15, Gramercy Park). A committee consisting of Miss Olive I. Carter, Mr. Frank L. Short, Professor H. H. Lyons, and Mr. Arthur Heine, has been appointed to make all arrangements and to provide a suitable entertainment. The price will not exceed $2.50 per head. All members who can do so are urged to attend and to invite as many friends as possible. The dinner will be good, the speeches interesting and not too long, the music and the songs delightful and Shaksperian, and the recitations of selections from the works of our idol professional. For further information and for tickets write to Miss Carter, 16 E. 8th Street, New York, N. Y., or to the secretary.

If our president's plans for a large membership succeed, we shall enlarge the Bulletin by many pages, so as to accommodate all the essays that reach us, and to pay the writers for their contributions. After all, considering that we are living in a world in which everything has to be paid for, there is no reason why writers of scientific articles should not be paid as much as the publication can afford.

Judging by the reports that reach us from various sources, the American public is interested in Shakspere's works. A number of road companies have done very well by him this summer. Two companies are said to have made considerably large sums of money. This is most encouraging. We hope that our Association will be the means of founding a permanent Shaksperian stock company with a permanent home (library and theatre) in New York.

The current (September) issue of the Publications of the Modern Language Association of America is of especial interest to Shakesperian and Elizabethan scholars. Professor Robert Withington has an essay showing that the villain in Elizabethan drama was evolved from the earlier "Vice" and "parasite." This, we suggest, applies beautifully to Shylock. Dr. John W. Ashton studies the conventional material in Anthony Munday's *John-a-Kent*. Dr. Kenneth W. Cameron argues, in a most painstaking essay, that the first quarto of *Othello* gives us an excellent play text which is in many respects superior to that of the Folio. Professor John W. Draper studies the Lady Olivia's household from the point of view of Shakspere's contemporaries and as reflecting the transition from feudal to modern capitalist society. Dr. Gerda Okerlund argues ably that the quarto version of *Henry V* is based on a pirated adaptation for performance by an irregular company of strolling players. Professor Alwin Thaler maintains, convincingly, that no scenes have been lost from *Macbeth*. Mr. George W. Stone makes a detailed study of Garrick's manuscript adaptation of *Hamlet*, and Dr. John M. French tries to show that Shakspere got his anthropophagi and some other min-

ute details from a map in Ptolemy's Geography. We cannot accept Mr. French's view that the word "antres" in *Othello* means "gulfs"; there is nothing in vast gulfs to awe or terrify the imagination.

Once again Hamlet's "too too solid flesh" is the subject of attack. Some months ago there was a lively discussion of the subject in the columns of the London Times Literary Supplement. To the present disinterested spectator it seemed that the champion of "sullied flesh" was worsted in the argument. "Solid" has become part and parcel of our daily life; it is deep-rooted in humanity's subconscious and, we fear, will not out.

Professor J. Dover Wilson, the author of an arresting work on Hamlet,* just published by the Cambridge University Press, again takes up the subject (in volume 2, pages 307-315) and tries to convince us, with arguments both learned and ingenious, that "solid" cannot be what Shakspere wrote, and that "sullied" is the only word which fits Hamlet and the famous first soliloquy. In fact, to Dr. Wilson, "sullied" is the keynote to this soliloquy, and therefore the keynote to Hamlet's character, and, ergo, to the play as a whole.

We regret to note a very serious omission in Dr. Wilson's case for "sullied". Clearly he has overlooked the important implication that Hamlet has omitted his daily ablutions since he heard the news of his father's death. We know from Ophelia's report to her father how terribly the Prince has neglected himself—stockings fouled(!), ungartered, and down-gyved to his ankles, his doublet all unbraced.

We may recall in this connection that going dirty was one of the onventional signs of mourning, and that the Hamlet of Saxo-Grammatius was none too clean —as a means, no doubt, of giving the impression of insanity. And, furthermore, lack of bodily cleanliness is one of the early evidences of insanity, genuine and feigned. No wonder that Hamlet so frequently indulges in language whose imagery associates itself with filth ("It smells to heaven," etc.). Besides, a lean Hamlet—and our esthetic prejudices insist on a lean Hamlet—could not, without evoking laughter, complain of "too too solid flesh."

The hypercritical might object to the emendation "sullied" on several trivial grounds. They might say that Burbadge, the first Hamlet, need not have slapped his fattening waistband when he declaimed "This too too solid flesh," although Dr. Wilson thinks he must (or should) have done so. It might also be pointed out that the writer of the famous Addition to the play of *Sir Thomas Moore,* whom Dr. Wilson identifies with Shakspere, never, to our knowledge, made a *u* which could be mistaken for an *a,* and that therefore "sallied" (the reading of the first two quartos) cannot be a misreading of "sullied". And undoubtedly some would object that as a general thing Shakspere applied the adjective "sullied" only to such abstractions as honor, reputation, virtue, etc., and would not have spoken of sullied human flesh.

It is evident, therefore, that we must look for another word. "Solid" and "sullied" wil not do. When we ask ourselves what word will fit Hamlet's psychology at this moment—Shakspere did think of the mental processes of his characters—and what word the compositor or copyist might have misread "sullied" we can think only of "saltie". "Oh that this too too saltie flesh would melt" is ele-

---

**The Manuscripts of Shakspere's 'Hamlet' and the Problems of its Transmission,* New York, The Macmillan Co., $4.50.

gant, intelligible at once, highly suggestive, and correct. All the arguments Dr. Wilson so brilliantly presents in support of "sullied" apply much more forcibly and cogently to "saltie." "Sullied might be interpreted as "dirty", and that would hardly do. But "saltie" would at once suggest "wanton," "lascivious," and fits the wanton Hamlet, the lustful Claudius, the adulterous Gertrude, the harlotry Ophelia (*vide* Goethe), the goatish Polonius, and the lascivious Laertes. From a graphiological viewpoint the case for "saltie" is perfect; a *t* was often made exactly like an *l* (note, for example, the *l*-like *t* in the word "throtes" in line 134 of the *Thomas Moore* Addition). Mistaking a final *e* for a *d* is one of the commonest errors in Elizabethan texts. In line 82 of the Addition the expert Dr. Greg misread the word "ordere" as "ordered". And finally the significant fact must not be overlooked that "salt" and "salt" compounds were favorite words with Shakspere: "sully" occurs in all his works only seven times (Dr. Wilson says eight) but "salt" occurs more than fifty times. The odds are, therefore, at least six to one in favor of "saltie".

As a final and, we think, insurmountable argument in favor of "saltie," we call the reader's attention to the many references in this play (see Bartlett's *Concordance*) to relish, seasoning, salt, appetite, and feeding. Shakspere undoubtedly had food on the brain when he wrote *Hamlet.* The whole play might well be interpreted from this viewpoint.

To sum up: Shakspere wrote "saltie"; the scribe read "sallid"; the compositor set it up as "sallied"; the Folio editor bungled it into "solid".

TEXT OF *THE GYPSIES METAMORPHOSED*

In September 1932 the *PMLA* published a short note of mine on Mr. George W. Cole's facsimile and transcript of Ben Jonson's masque, *The Gypsies Metamorphosed.*

In the September 1934 issue of the *PMLA,* page 963, Dr. Greg takes exception to five of my "corrections" of Dr. Cole's transcript. Three of the errors now pointed out by Dr. Greg are the handiwork of the linotyper; they are, in fact, nothing more serious than misprints. It is obvious, for example, that it would have been absurd for me to say (and for the magazine to print) that *comon* should be *comon.* With the facsimile before him, any reader sees at a glance, even without knowing the secretary script, that the printer overlooked the *m* with a tilde above it or that he had none at his disposal at the moment.

Of Dr. Greg's three other points there is but one in which he may be right. I mean the reading *minte* (page 117, line 1, of Dr. Cole's book) instead of *mints.* But it will be noted that I was careful to query my suggestion in my original communication. The purport of my note was to call scholars' attention to the fact that Jonson was in the habit of making a final *e* which is often indistinguishable from his final *s,*—a very important point, inasmuch as it explains a vast number of final—*s* errors in Jonson and in the other Elizabethans (a point whih, I believe, I was the first to explain and to apply to Shakspere's text). For examples of this final *s* I refer the student to the word *bells* (page 111, line 12), *pocketts* (page 115, line 22), and *kings* (page 125, line 10). Notwithstanding all this, I prefer to read *minte* on page 117 because that is the reading of the printed edition of 1640.

Dr. Greg objects to my suggestion that on the first line of page 195 the letter *r* was trimmed away, though he agrees that the penultimate word on that line should be *yor*. He facetiously suggests that if the overhead *r* was trimmed away we should have to regard the words before and after *yor* as having been faked. This kind of logic is beyond me, especially when we find that Jonson was in the habit of occasionally writing the overhead *r* quite high above the preceding *o* and to omit the connecting stroke between the two letters. Note, for example, the words *yor* in line 18 of page 111, in line 22 of page 149, in line 2 of page 119, and in line 21 of page 195. The last example is particularly instructive because it shows that the *r* could have been cut away without damaging the word *Call* which follows it. That some of these pages were trimmed at the top, unless the trimming was done on the facsimile (in which case the editor should have commented on the fact) is beautifully shown by the first line of the facsimile facing page 141.

A point in Dr. Greg's letter which calls for more extended consideration is the question of the apostrophe in the word *S'lid* (=God's lid, page 169, line 3). Dr. Greg tells us that the spelling *S'lid* for *'Slid* is a very likely one. Readers of the *PMLA* who read Elizabethan literature all know this: but the question is whether Jonson in this instance wrote *S'lid* or *Slid*. The point is of importance only from a bibliotic viewpoint, that is, from the viewpoint of determining what Jonson's writing habits were. In the present instance, for example, Dr. Greg attempts to meet my criticism that "the serif at the head of the *S* has been mistaken for an apostrophe" by saying that "this form of *S* does not usually have a 'serif' elsewhere." I said nothing to imply that the Jonsonian *S* ever had a serif elsewhere than at the head and to the right. What Dr. Greg failed to note, as was to be expected from a person untrained in bibliotics, is the fact that the Jonsonian apostrophe is a mark which looks like a modern comma, that is, a small curve with its convexity to the right (the writing pen having moved initially from left to right, like the hands of a clock), whereas the serif at the head of the *S*—a very common feature in the secretary script[1]—is a curve having its convexity to the left (the writing pen moving initially from right to left.) For such apostrophes I refer the reader to *y'are* in line 1 of page 123 and to *You'are* in line 10 of the same page; and for such *S* serifs I refer him to the *S* in *Some* (page 113, line 19), in *Sonne* (page 127, line 19), in *Shee'l* (page 163, line 23), in *Song* (page 179, line 15), in *Sr* (page 185, line 15), and in *Saue* (page 213, line 7).

Dr. Greg's remark that he refrains from publishing a "few other trifling errors" because "any reader" having the facsimiles before him "will be readily able to detect them for himself" is a curious statement for a scholar to make. If there were logic in what he says, it would follow that Dr. Cole should have published his facsimile and not have made a transcript and should not have troubled Professor Tucker Brooke to revise it. Besides, how can "any reader" be expected to detect errors if a scholar of Dr. Greg's experience is in doubt about some of the errors even after they have been pointed out to him?

Samuel A. Tannenbaum.

New York, N. Y.

---

[1]See my book, *The Handwriting of the Renaissance*, The Columbia University Press, 1930, page 113.

COMMUNICATION

August 26, 1934.

To the Secretary of the Shakespeare Association:

Sir:

May I be permitted a word of respectful protest against your strictures upon English scholars and reviewers in the April number of the Bulletin, pp. 105-6, and the July number, pp. 158-9.

"Frankness" in literary judgments is, as you say, highly desirable; there is far too little of it in reviewing; but I am sure that you will agree with me when I say that it should be free of any suspicion of personal or national feeling, that is, itself convincingly exempt from the charge that is here being made. And the charge of "childishness" and "maliciousness" against English reviewers as a body[1] seems to me neither well-founded in fact nor appropriate on the part of the organ of a society devoted to the study of the greatest English poet and dramatist, in connection with a review of a book edited by the distinguished president and secretary of the corresponding society in England.

Is it not nearer the truth that *some* English reviewers and also some American reviewers, like ordinary Englishmen and like ordinary Americans, suffer from nationalistic prejudice? And while it is well for Americans and Englishmen alike to have this called to their attention as a deplorable thing, it is not well to exaggerate the situation or to put it in a one-sided way. An ordinary Englishman who, on meeting an American, doesn't like him, is by instinct inclined to think or say, "Typical Yankee"; an ordinary American, in similar circumstances, is inclined to think or say, "Typical John Bull". And, in turn, when the race prejudice is not expressed, it is suspected. The writer, American or English, adversely reviewed by the foreigner is likely to attribute to it his own particular misfortune. How often I have heard professors of English in this country say, "They're jealous of us over there!"

If they have more occasion to say this than their English colleagues, we must remember that the English reviewer has to suffer, as the American does not, from a perennial flood of doctoral dissertations (or what are little better), printed that the writer may "get on", crude in thinking and cruder in style, but laying claim, with much lumber of learning, to be a "contribution to science".

I especially regret the way the venerable Professor Mackail is handled, in the April number. He more nearly approaches my ideal of the literary critic than almost any person now living, one who is both an exact scholar and a fine writer, who knows the ancient and the modern literatures, the Continental as well as the English, and in his esthetic judgments is not led astray by philosophy or history, psychology or sociology, as many critics are. I quite agree with you in thinking the Manningham story a fiction; but all Mr. Mackail says is that it "may be true"; and I feel certain that if you knew his work so well as I you would agree with me in considering your words rather hasty.[2]

Believe me,

Very truly yours,

Elmer Edgar Stoll

[1] Dr. Stoll is guilty of a grievous error here. Readers of the Bulletin know we had a particular group in mind.—Ed.

[2] Dr. Mackail's essay is a poor piece of work, no matter how one looks at it. Distinguished scholarship makes poor workmanship worse.—Ed.